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Links between Ur and the Indus

DAVID HOWARD DAY

I. Introduction:

Archæological discovery has rarely been as controversial or its ramifications so widespread as those connected with the origins of the Indus Valley civilization, and the extent of trade between the people of the Indus and those of the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea.[1]

From prehistoric times, three great trade routes have connected India with the West. H. G. Rawlinson, credited with the decipherment of cuneiform, outlines these trade routes as follows: (1) the easiest and probably the oldest, was the Persian Gulf route running from the mouth of the Indus to the Euphrates; (2) the overland route from the Indian passes to Balkh, and thence to the Caspian, and (3) the rather circuitous sea route down the Persian and Arabian coasts to Aden, and up the Red Sea to Suez.[2]

It is the primary aim of the present paper to examine selected archæological sites along the Indus-Euphrates-Persian Gulf route, focusing on the archipelago sheikdom of Bahrein (or Bahrain).[3] We wish to comment on the extensive work of the Danish Archæological Expedition to Bahrein[4] and that of the Oxford University Expedition to the island of Socotra in 1956. In our investigation of the relationships between Mesopotamia, Bahrein and the cities of the Indus, an attempt will be made to illustrate the changing foci of archæological research from mere dating and classification to the meeting of some of the following new " demands " : data on population size and density; seasonal and climatic cycles; settlement patterns; rate of population growth; food production techniques; extent of the total exploited habitat; short and long-run changes in natural biota; techno-environmental effects; incidence of warfare; size of food-producing and non-food-producing groups; nature of social organization defined in terms of house groups, village, or town groups, and general or specific social change.[5]

II. Background to Ancient Indian Trade:

Due to their geographical situations, the pre-Harappan sites lying to the west of the Indus were not in a position to derive the benefits of the natural maritime highways of the Indus and as a

result, became culturally and economically backward. Meanwhile, a number of Harappan sites situated on the Indus rose to prominence. Marshall has pointed out that the remarkable cultural affinities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa presupposes the existence of a route-link between the two, although they were some 350 miles apart.[6]

The urban culture of the Indus eventually stretched from the foothills of Simla in the north, to the site of Sutkagen-dor on the West Pakistani (or Makran) coast, and east into the modern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. Port towns, thriving during what must have been the zenith of the Indus Valley civilization, have been located primarily at Lothal, on the Gulf of Cambay, western India[7] and still further west along the Makran coast at Sutkagen-dor.[8]

How the civilizations of the Tigris-Euphrates on the one hand, and the Indus Valley on the other were connected, is not clearly known to us, though several elements of affinity linking the two distant civilizations have been indicated beyond doubt.[9] It seems probable that the trade intercourse between India and Sumer was both by land and by sea.[10] A synthesis of various feasible land routes is provided by Srivastava in an unusually well-documented account of ancient Indian trade and commerce.[11]

The maritime route by which the Indians could have reached Sumer must have been coastal. Most of the Makran-India coast remains unexplored, however, and no definite lines of voyage have been traced.

While the Indus is now some three miles from Mohenjo-Daro, there is evidence that in ancient times the city stood on the east bank of the main river, or an important branch of it. We know, in fact, that probably more than once, Mohenjo-Daro was flooded and temporarily deserted. As may have been the case at the head of the Persian Gulf, the seacoast at the head of the Gulf of Cambay was probably further north in that epoch. Mackay, remarking in 1934 about recent discoveries of two representations of "Indus" boats, suggests:

> "The one with the mast could have been used for sea travel. Quite small vessels voyage today between Karachi and Aden, a distance of some 1,500 miles, keeping the shore in sight most of the way...The number of small Arab dhows that range as far as Zanzibar from the ports of the Indian coast and the Persian Gulf today is remarkable. A voyage in ancient times from the Indus cities to the ports of Mesopotamia and the Gulf and back would have been a simple matter."[12]

Lothal has yielded a single circular steatite seal which closely resembles the seals from the Persian Gulf islands found by the Danish expedition led by Glob and Bibby.[13] Although we shall deal with Bahrein extensively below, it may be noted here that the principal ancient settlement on Bahrein lay at the northern end of the island at Ras-al-Qala. According to Wheeler[14], Bahrein was one of the coastal entrepots between the Gulf of Cambay and the head of the Persian Gulf. A study of the Lothal seal and the seals from Bahrein aptly named by Wheeler as " Persian Gulf Seals " indicate the existence of a coastal route between Lothal and Bahrein.

W. F. Leemans[15] found two words, *Magan* or *Makkan* and *Meluhha* inscribed on clay tablets from the city of Ur. He and Glob[16] identified Magan with the coast of Makran in Pakistan, and Meluhha with the coast of western India including Sind and Saurashtra. It is probable that traders from both Meluhha and Makkan approached Bahrein, which Oppenheim identifies as Telmun, or Dilmun[17] and there exchanged goods with their counterparts from Ur. " From Telmun or Bahrein, Harappan traders who wanted to have direct approach to Mesopotamian markets, sailed for some proto-historic ports near Bundar Abbas and Bundar Bushir...from Bundar Bushir Ur was approachable through a coast-wise journey along the northern coast of the Persian Gulf. "[18]

While Ur seems to have been the key port for entry into Mesopotamia between 2350 B.C. and 1700 B.C.[19], we are told by Oppenheim[20] that during this period, Mesopotamian and Indian traders (or sometimes through their middlemen, such as those of Bahrein, as noted by the individual character of the seals found there) imported into Ur various Indian commodities like gold, silver, copper, lapis lazuli, carnelian, beads, exotic woods and inlay..

Trade between Ur and ports on the Indian coast is divided by Wheeler[21] into three periods summarized as (1) an initial trade period at the time of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2350 B.C.) when traders from Meluhha were either directly approached by the Sumerians, or they themselves went to the Mesopotamian markets like Ur; (2) a second stage, under the third dynasty of Ur (c. 2100 B.C.). Meluhha, now out of direct trade contact with Ur, dealt with either Makkan or Telmun, and was dependent on Bahreini middlemen, and finally, (3) a third phase of Indo-Sumerian trade characterized by the dominance of Bahreini middlemen between the fall of the Larsa dynasty (c. 1950 B.C.) and the decline of the Hammurabi dynasty (c. 1700 B.C.)

The determination of India's trade route with the West during historical times has been greatly facilitated by references in the remarkable, anonymous *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, of the first century, A.D. It is known from the *Periplus* that the island of Socotra at the entrance to the Red Sea, had a mixed population of Greeks, Arabs and Indians. The *Periplus* expressly mentions that Indians, among others, had " emigrated to carry on trade there. "[22] It was also in the first century A.D. that Indian merchants began their expansion into what is now Southeast Asia.

Before discussing briefly the arts and crafts of the Indus Valley and the light they throw on the probability of links with Sumer and Elam, it is worth citing a neglected passage from Mackay concerning the similarity of building materials between the ancient nuclear areas;

> " A striking feature of the masonry of Mohenjo-Daro is the frequent use of bricks laid in an unusual way. In one particular wall we have a link with Elam and Sumer, for Dr. Wooley has lately reported that mud bricks were laid in a similar manner in a building at Ur dated to about 2000 B.C. and I am told that an example of the same method of bricklaying has been found at Susa...
>
> The outer walls of the houses had a batter or inward slope, a very characteristic feature of the architecture of Mohenjo-Daro and also found in ancient Sumerian and Egyptian buildings.[23]

It is possible that certain types of Indus Valley pottery were exported. " On a fragment of a stone-carved scene found by the French expedition to Susa some years ago, a man is seen carrying an offering-stand identical in design with those found in Mohenjo-Daro; and as none of these stands have been found at Susa, it is reasonable to infer that the one represented was an importation from India, perhaps also that the figure is that of an Indian. "[24]

On the evidence of Indus Valley axes and adzes, Mackay observes that " the usual types of axes and adzes used by the Indus Valley people were plain blades of copper or bronze, almost identical in design with similar blades from Susa and early Egypt. "[25]

III. Bahrein : Its Archæology and Geography :

To this point we have been examining some of the evidence for, and " educated guesses " about the likelihood and nature of Indo-Persian-Mesopotamian contacts. We now wish to describe one of the most important recent clusters of discoveries in archæology,

linking the two prominent civilizations of the third millenium B.C., that of the Indus and Sumer. These discoveries, as we shall see, have been made largely by the Danish Archæological Expedition on the Persian Gulf island of Bahrein over the course of the past seventeen years.

The Setting

The State of Bahrein, whose ruler is His Highness Sheikh Sulman bin Hamed Al-Khalifa, consists of a cluster of islands, the majority of which are inhabited, lying between Qatar, the prominent Persian Gulf peninsula and Saudi Arabia. The total area of the Bahrein group is 240 square miles, with a population in 1965 of 182,233[26]. Of these, 9,385 (or 5·1% of the total population) are labelled in the 1965 Bahreini census as Asians. Though the breakdown of Asians by country is not known, it is likely that at least 3,000 of these are of Indian origin, with a still smaller minority of Pakistanis. The majority of the inhabitants are Moslem Arabs and the Shia and Sunni sects of Islam are about equally represented.[27]

In the past Bahrein owed its importance to its position as the centre of the pearl industry of the Persian Gulf; today, however, it is better known for its oil field and refinery.[28]

James Belgrave, son of the former senior British administrator in Bahrein, makes the following observations with regard to contemporary pottery making on the island :

> "All the processes which go into the making of pottery take place in small sheds. . most of the ovens are built in the prehistoric tumuli south of the village (of Aali). A hole is made in the roof of the tomb and another at the side; in the former the objects to be baked are placed and the latter is filled with firewood. When the fires are lit the tombs become miniature volcanoes with thick smoke belching from their peaks. . . "[29]

Now it was precisely the discovery of three main groups of tumuli that first attracted the Danish Archæological Expedition to the island in 1953. Before their arrival, however, Ernest Mackay (later of Mohenjo-Daro fame) had been sent from Egypt by Flinders Petrie to survey the Bahrein mounds. The Danes' debt to Mackay is summed up by Geoffrey Bibby himself:

> "He had done a very competent job on the Bahrein mounds, opening nearly fifty of them. . .and listing contents. . .He had

shown that every one of them covered a stone-built chamber, lying roughly east-west, with its entrance to the west..and there was very little in the graves other than bones and pot-sherds, only some fragments of worked ivory and worked copper being recovered...All the graves he opened had been plundered."[30]

But there was a second and more basic reason for journeying to Bahrein and this was the desire to attempt to solve one of the major controversies in Mesopotamian scholarship, the question of the ancient land of Dilmun and its precise location.

Early theories concerning the provenance of the people who " used " the island as a graveyard are dramatic, but as we shall show, incorrect. Mackay himself persisted in the belief that the pre-Islamic people buried in the grave chambers were natives of the Arabian peninsula who had merely used the island of Bahrein as a convenient burial site for their dead.

A second belief about the burial mounds is that they are Phoenician. British Museum analysis of ivory grave objects had suggested them to be of Phoenician workmanship. It was subsequently shown that not only did the ivories have nothing to do with Phoenicia, but they did not even resemble Bahreini statuettes.[31] The Arabs of Bahrein had firmly believed the burial mounds to be the graves of the Portuguese who had garrisoned the island in the sixteenth century, A.D.

With the above background and aims, the Expedition set forth for Bahrein. Financial support was, for the most part, tripartite; there were contributions from Danish foundations (including Carlsberg Breweries !), from the Government of Bahrein, and from the various Arab and American oil companies operating in the area. It appears, in fact, that it was the occasional threat of withdrawal of funds which compelled the Danish team to justify continual support by publishing periodic results of their field work. As Bibby interjects, "...one of our major backers, the Carlsberg Foundation, had put its foot down. No more money would be forthcoming for further digging until the definitive publication of our results was at least in train. For that, and for that only, would they continue our grants."[32]

The Discoveries on Bahrein

News of the team's activities in the Persian Gulf began to filter back to Europe where some of the first " results " from Bibby and

his senior colleague, P.V. Glob[33] were published.[34] They began to demonstrate dramatically the ancient contact between the civilizations of Ur, Dilmun and those of the Indus Valley. In 1960 Glob was to remark explicity that " Bahrein has proved to be the legendary Dilmun referred to in the cuneiform texts of Sumer, the bridge between that primary seat of the urban revolution and the civilization of the Indus Valley in what is now Pakistan."[35] In the same year Belgrave, with Glob's exuberance, recounted the first finds at Bahrein :

> " The three temples at Barbar (North coast) were built one on top of another, apparently dating back to the third millenium B.C. These well-built temples contained numerous copper figures, tools and weapons, gold ornaments, pottery and, the most spectacular find of all, a magnificent copper bull's head.[36]

Limestone for the construction of the temple of Barbar was imported from Jeddah.[37] The temple was dated somewhere between 2500 B.C. and 1800 B.C., largely on the basis of a copper figurine of a male supplicant found within the temple. The figurine, or icon, was " very Sumerian in appearance. If he had been found in Mesopotamia he would certainly have been dated between 2500 and 1800 B.C. and he could not be of very different date here. And one of the alabaster vases was of a shape known to have been used in Mesopotamia in the final centuries of the third millenium B.C. "[38] In the temple, near what was quite clearly an altar or pedestal in front of which libations were offered, Bibby and Glob found several lapis lazuli pendants of a type found in the cities of the Indus Valley. Whereas on one hand, the Barbar temple " is thus reminiscent in its layout to the temples of early dynastic Sumer, but with its bathing pool, it also recalls the ritual baths of the Indus Valley cities."[39]

One of the highlights of archæological research operating in the span between the Indus and the sites at Ur, has been the relatively frequent discovery of stone, or steatite stamp seals. Seals of cylindrical type have been associated with Mesopotamia while those indigenous to the Indus have been square. Yet a third, much rarer type has been discovered in one of the most exciting finds at Bahrein. Bibby puts it neatly:

> It was...a round stamp seal. It was about an inch in diameter, flat on one side, with a design cut in the face, which I could already see depicted two human beings. The other side was a flat dome, pierced by a hole so that it could be hung

on a cord. And the dome was decorated with a band of three incised lines and with four incised circles, each with a dot in the middle. The material was steatite, a soft stone of rather greasy appearance and feel...[40]

Now, among the thousands of cylindrical seals found in Mesopotamia, there are a mere seventeen of these round seals. " They were not native to Mesopotamia and appeared to date to the period between 2300 and 2000 B.C. "[41] Several bore inscriptions in the unknown language of the Indus Valley. Moreover, three examples of the same type of seal had been found in Mohenjo-Daro, though they were not native to Mohenjo-Daro, where, as we have asserted, larger, square seals have been shown to be the indigenous type. These three " intruder " seals were, to reiterate, of the same type as the round stamp seals with the Indus script found by Wooley at Ur and published by Gadd.[42]

Two points now emerge: (1) the presence of identical seals at Ur and Mohenjo-Daro proved that there had been contact between India and Mesopotamia at the time of the Indus cvilization and (2) the *round* stamp seals were " foreign " both in India and in Mesopotamia. If the round seals were alien in India and in Mesopotamia, could it be that they were native to Bahrein ?

It became apparent to Glob and Bibby that the round seals *were* native to Bahrein and belonged to the people who traded with both Mesopotamia and India, and appear to have had a culture distinct from both. The seal evidence suggests, furthermore, that in pre- or proto-historic times Bahrein may have been an important entrepot of trade, a half-way house between the Indus and the markets or ports at Ur. Glob, in fact, was led in 1958 to state that "... Bahrein was inhabited by big businessmen who led this trade. It is they and their families who lie buried in the 100,000 grave-mounds of Bahrein and it is presumably they who are described on the clay tablets of Ur as the *Alik Telmun* (the traders to Dilmun)."[43]

A list of objects located at Bahreini sites but foreign to the area includes the steatite from which the locally used seals were made. Steatite may have come from Persia or Oman, as well as from points further afield. Copper fishhooks excavated at Bahrein, as well as large amounts of unworked copper were also of uncertain origin, though copper would have been available in India and Persian Luristan. The ivory, however, " pointed more definitely to India, though not with absolute certainty. The carnelian bead, on the other hand, could only have come from India. " [44]

As far as its material goes, the perfect cube of polished flint found on Bahrein could have originated there, yet it was recognized immediately as a weight of the type in common use in the cities of the Indus Valley and used nowhere else.[45] Why had the merchants of Bahrein (Dilmun) used the standard weights of the Indus Valley ? For Bibby there can be only two explanations: " either the first commercial impulses to have reached Dilmun must have come, not from Mesopotamia but from India, or else India was a far more important commercial connection with Dilmun than was Mesopotamia (where a completely different weight system was in use) " [46]

Before proceeding to a discussion of the relevance of other Gulf sites to our topic, it is necessary to explicate the Bahrein-Dilmun equation.

In 1881, about 20 years after the first reading of cuneiform, there existed some half-dozen documents mentioning a land called " Dilmun ". Many such documents containing the names of scores of obscure lands and cities had emerged from the libraries of Assurbanipal. In 1880 Durand had found a cuneiform inscription on Bahrein. The author of the inscription described himself as " slave of the God Inzak. " In the British Museum tablet that Rawlinson had himself deciphered and published, " the God Inzak was defined as the 'God Nabu'—in other words, the principal deity—'of Dilmun'. And Dilmun, according to the annals of Sargon of Assyria, was the land whose ruler dwelt 'thirty double-hours away in the midst of the sea of the rising sun "[47] Rawlinson, for what it was worth, claimed that Bahrein was identical with Dilmun. We are, we must confess with Bibby, still away from knowing the exact location of Dilmun, although Bibby tends to agree with Rawlinson's interpretation as the one best fitting the facts.

Another suggestive element is that our word " abyss " comes to us from the Sumerian word " abzu " over a gap of more than 4000 years. " Abzu " meant " the fresh water below the earth. " Leonard Cottrell, Bibby's reviewer, recounts that

> " The Sumerians envisaged the earth as a crust, below which was a sea of sweet water and above was the salt or 'bitter' sea. Dilmun, according to their legends, was one of the places where the fresh water rose to the surface. It has become clear from the excavations in which Mr. Bibby has participated, that Behrein was, in ancient times, rich in fresh water springs and reservoirs." [48]

We note, finally, that as recently as 1964, Professor Kramer of the University of Pennsylvania, and one of the world's great authorities on Sumerian, maintained his hypothesis that Dilmun may turn out to be the *Indus*, or some part of it. Suggests Kramer, " The Mesopotamian people which settled in India and sparked the Indus civilization were...not the Sumerians, but—most probably—the original settlers of 'Sumer', the Ubaidians..."[49]

With the aid of cuneiform translations it is thus rather well-established that Dilmun was a holy land in the eyes of the Sumerians. Bibby regards it as very appropriate that the first major building contemporary with Sumer that was located on Bahrein, was that of a temple.[50]

In order to pursue ancient trade routes and to determine the extent of the homogeneity (or heterogeneity) of culture elements and artefacts along the south shore of the Gulf, the Danish team expanded west to the island of Failaka, and east to the borders of Muscat. It is to these areas, to Socotra, Dubai, and the Hadramaut that we now turn.

IV. The Lure of Other Related Sites :

While Bibby appears satisfied with the general Dilmun-Bahrein-area equation, he is tantalized now by the riddle of the Ubaid sites located by the team in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia, just west of Bahrein.

A find of barbed and tanged arrowheads, flint implements, knives, scrapers, awls, thin, greenish-yellow potsherds decorated with geometric patterns in dark-brown paint discovered at Tarut, near Dharan, was recognized at once by Bibby as Ubaid. Over the span of 1000 years the first agricultural settlers of the Tigris-Euphrates moved gradually into lower Mesopotamia, their pottery spreading to the already-settled regions of North Mesopotamia and Syria. This was the Al-Ubaid culture. The nearest known settlement of the Ubaid culture to Dharan (and earliest of them all) was at Eridu, 400 miles to the north, yet now, as Bibby explains, the Ubaid culture lay also in Arabia ![51] Bibby summarizes the excitement generated by discovery of the Arabian Ubaid sites:

> The fifth millennium B.C. must, with all reservation, be the date of the Ubaid site on the coast. And it changed all our conceptions of the history of the Gulf. Had civilization reached the Gulf from the North after all, and not from the east ?

Or had the Ubaid culture originated in east Arabia and spread from there to Mesopotamia ? Was there some basis for the old Sumerian legend of the fish-man who had brought agriculture to Mesopotamia from the Arabian Gulf ? Whatever the answer, one thing was clear. Civilization was over a thousand years older in the Gulf lands than we had believed, and somehow that thousand years of history had to be filled. It was tantalizing to know that there was one place, and one place only, where the missing centuries could be investigated. The tell of Tarut had Ubaid ware in its lowest, and Barbar ware in its uppermost strata. In between would lie the tale of how the one developed into the other.[52]

Another piece to the puzzle of the growth and movement of the civilizations of the Persian Gulf emerged from the tiny island of Failaka at the head of the Persian Gulf. The expedition, as guests of an Indian doctor on the island, found sherds of thin, red, ridged " Barbar " ware. The significance of Bahreini Barbar ware on Failaka in Kuwait (over 250 miles from Bahrein) lay in the likelihood that Failaka too, was part of Dilmun. In this case, Dilmun would be much bigger than originally believed or, in Bibby's words, " the distance from Bahrain to Failaka was the distance from Eridu, the southernmost city of Babylonia, to Eshunna, its northernmost city. In geographical extent, then, Dilmun could measure upto Babylonia itself. "[53]

Dubai and Socotra

Moving east along the coast of the Trucial Oman, we wish now to mention again only briefly that Indian contact with this region in historical times is abundantly documented in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, as translated by Schoff.[54] The *Periplus* describes in remarkable detail the antiquity of Indian trade, not only with ports and peoples of the Makran coast, the Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Greece and Rome, but on the coast of Eastern Africa.

The present writer suggests that the history of Indian trade in various locations along the Gulf is, in fact, a continuing historical tradition. Reporting in the *Hindustan Times* in 1969, A. K. Sen observes :

> " Indian and Pakistani settlers in this tiny desert state (Dubai) have formed themselves into thriving smuggling syndicates. They use with impunity the British Protectorate Sheikhdom as a base for smuggling gold and consumer goods across

the Arabian Sea into India...The Dubai merchants exchange gold for Indian silver, tea and jute, cardamom, white and black pepper, cloves and cinnamon. The tea and jute are smuggled into Iran...There are financial rackets which have contracts with Indian settlers who send money home from Britain and East Africa.

India's long and unguarded coast...has become a safe rendezvous for Indian and Dubai smugglers. "[55]

A unique Indian bronze has been found at Khor Reiri, 45 kilometers east of Salala in the province of Dhofar of Hadramaut. Goetz[56] suggests that Khor Reiri is perhaps identical with the ancient port of Sumhuram, or Moscha mentioned several times in the *Periplus*. Goetz dates the bronze to the third century, A.D"... We can regard it as certain that our bronze statuette came to Sumhuram just at the time when, before the crisis of the Roman Empire in the second and third quarters of the third century, the trade between Alexandria, South Arabia and India had been on its zenith. "[57]

As the bronze was unearthed in the ruins of a private house, it could not apparently have belonged to the inventory of a temple or even of a public chapel, " but had been the private property of some rich Indian merchant, probably part of a house shrine, and having been damaged by some accident was left behind when the flat was vacated. The merchant probably was a member of the Jaina or Buddhist communities who represented the overwhelming majority of maritime traders. "[58]

Socotra, Cape Guardafui

The island of Dioscorida (Socotra) is mentioned in paragraph thirty of the *Periplus*, whose author remarks: " The inhabitants are few and they live on the coast toward the north, which from this side faces the continent. They are foreigners, a mixture of Arabs and Indians and Greeks...There is also produced in this island cinnabar, that called Indian, which is collected in drops from the trees. "[59] Both Ptolemy and the unknown author of the *Periplus* bear witness to the number of merchants engaged in the Indian trade, " and the former draws much of his information about India from men who had voyaged there and even resided for long in that country. "[60]

During the 1956 Oxford University Expedition to Socotra[61] was the belief that " Socotia had been an important entrepot for

trade between the Far East and the Medditterranean between the second century B.C. and the sixth century A.D. "[62] Schoff states that " the cloths and precious stones, the timbers and spices—particularly cinnamon—brought from India largely by Indian vessels, were redistributed at Socotra or Guardafui, and carried to the Nile and the Medditterranean. "[63] Could these goods have been tran-shipped through Oppenheim's[64] and Glob's[65] " class " of *Alik Telmun* ?

Hoping to discover Roman ruins, P. L. Shinnie, a member of the expedition, made a survey of the eastern half of the island.[66] Aside from some Portuguese and Ethiopic ruins, however, " little else was found on the coast that gave any indication of important ancient settlement. "[67]

The multi-disciplinary Oxford Expedition, being not only archæological, but geographical and medical, carried out a series of rather extensive blood-typing tests upon the Socotri Bedouin. A note in the expedition's report is tantalizing, if vague: " The overall results (of the blood tests) are not very similar; generally, the Socotrans appear more Asiatic...I personally, seeing that Socotra is a little nearer Africa than Asia, was expecting an African blood picture... "[68]

The roundheadedness and other physical features of the Bedouin suggested that the Socotran aboriginals are remnants of an Hamitic population once widespread in South Arabia, and later driven out by a long-headed Semitic race from the north. " They may thus, perhaps, be called one of the few 'genuine' Arab communities... "[69]

This description by Botting has relevance for what Laura Thompson calls the " integrated anthropology. "[70] Realizing that the populations of such small islands as Fiji, Guam, and Tahiti preserve relatively isolated gene pools, Thompson urges their study as favourable " model " natural laboratories. Such remote and fast-disappearing populations might be investigated from at least two interrelated angles : " (1) as evolving human breeding populations of micro-races, and (2) as culture-creating and culture-transmitting historical groups, for purposes of research into related problems concerning the evolution of microcultures. "[71] It is our opinion that the non-Bedouin (aboriginal) population of Socotra provides such a model population breeding unit, and bears immediate further study. It is regrettable that the medical results of the Oxford group's researches have not been conclusive, nor have been made available for scrutiny by the wider community of scholars.

A final word is in order on the life-style of Socotra's non-Bedouin inhabitants, who "constitute the *muqqadem* (headmen) and merchant class, acting as agents between the Bedouin and visiting dhow captains. This means that they must travel round the country acquiring goods from the Bedouin by purchase or barter, and selling these goods to dhow traders from India, Abadan, Muscat, Mukalla and Aden."[72]

V. CONCLUSION :

In our exploration of the intercourse between the civilizations of the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, Dilmun and other points, we have illustrated the continuing role of archæological evidence, as well as that of historical documents or narratives, such as that of the *Periplus*. The reconstruction of the picture of India's links with the West has been marked by tremendous zeal on the part of many Indian scholars, and by conservative optimism on the part of western scholars. The latter are often hesitant to give credence to Rig Vedic, Upanishadic or Purānic evidence of the antiquity of India's outside contact. Yet, on the basis of such recent evidence as that from Bahrein, (for example, the Indus-type weights found in early Dilmun levels) it is conceivable that extensive trade contacts between India and the Persian Gulf existed even before the height of the Indus Valley Civilization.

Perhaps even more important, is the accumulating testimony of the advanced role of Indian traders who, as we have attempted to show, may have carried their sphere of influence, as well as some of their products, to the gates of Ur itself.

A reading of Bibby impresses one with the importance of a sound methodology.[73] Although we have not been able to deal deeply with archæological field method in this paper, the interested reader will find in the work of the Danish team in the Gulf, a rare sensitivity to the myriad problems of field work in "new" areas, and an underlying concern for the co-operation with host-country personnel, and traditional leaders which resulted in an enrichment of the latter's appreciation of their own cultural history.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] On the origins of the Indus civilization (pre-Harappan and Harappan), see Bhargava (1968), Chaudhuri (1952), Gordon (1958), Hussein (1961), Marshall (1931), Piggott (1950), Sankalia (1962) and Wheeler (1953, 1959). Some extent of prehistoric Indian trade and commerce is documented by Auboyer (1948), Chattopadhyaya (1965), Corbiau (1935), Goetz (1963), Leemans (1960), Mackay (1930), Rao (1965), Rawlinson (1926), Saletore (1959), Saxena (1965, 1966), Srivastava (1968) and Toussaint (1966).

[2] H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome*, Cambridge, 1926, pp. 1–2.

[3] Both spellings are in vogue ; from the Arabic, *Al-Bahrain*=" the two seas ".

[4] Publicized by one of the leaders of the series of expeditions, Geoffrey Bibby, in *Looking for Dilmun*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, 383.

[5] Many of these have been suggested by Binford (1962, 1965).

[6] J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, Arthur Probsthain, 1931. 3 Vols., V. I, p. 195.

[7] Whereas some claimed the " tank " at Lothal was merely a ritual bathing tank, the evidence now seems clearly to its having been a port, complete with ingenious dockyard. Consult the work of Leshnick (1968), Rao (1956–57, 1961, 1962) and Shah (1960).

[8] Though now 35 miles north of the coast, the Sutkagen-dor site is believed to have been on the shore in Harappan times. See G. F. Dales, " A Search for Ancient Seaports ", *Expedition* 4 (1962) 2–10, 44, and " Harappan Outposts on the Makran Coast ", *Antiquity* 36 (1962) 86–92.

[9] See *inter alia*, Wheeler, *Indus Civilization* (pp. 84–89), E.Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization* (pp. 146–150), Piggott (pp. 110, 117–118) and R. Starr, *Indus Valley Painted Pottery*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1941 (pp. 85–87).

[10] K. N. Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, Madras, 1939, p. 57, Mackay (1934) maintains a similar view.

[11] B. Srivastava, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, Benaras (India) 1968, 346. especially pp. 38–46.

[12] Ernest Mackay, " The Indus Civilization : Some Connections with Sumer, Elam and the West ", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 21 (1934), 420–434.

[13] S. R. Rao, " A Persian Gulf Seal from Lothal ", *Antiquity* 37 (1963), p. 96 ; P. V. Glob, " The Prosperity of Bahrein 5000 Years Ago ", *Illustrated London News*, 4th January, 1958, pp. 14–16.

[14] *Early India and Pakistan*, London, 1959, p. 111.

[15] W. F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, Leiden, 1960, and " The Sea-Faring Merchants of Ur ", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 3 (1960), 20–37.

[16] *Illustrated London News*, 11th January, 1958.

[17] A. L. Oppenheim, " The Sea-Faring Merchants of Ur ", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 74 (1954), 6–17.

[18] B. Srivastava, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, 1968, p. 48.

[19] M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, p. 108.

[20] See item 17 above.

[21] See item 19 above ; pp. 108–09.

[22] Wilfred H. Schoff (translator), *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, London, Longmans, 1912, 323, p. 34.

[23] E. Mackay, " The Indus Civilization : Some Connections with Sumer, Elam and the West ", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 21 (1934), pp. 420–434, p. 423.

[24] *Ibid.*, 429.

[25] *Ibid.*, 431.

[26] U.S. Dept. of State, *Background Notes : Bahrain*, Washington, D.C., March 1968, 4.p.

[27] J. H. D. Belgrave, " Bahrain, Pearl of the Gulf ", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 47 (1960), 117–126, p. 118.

[28] For an engagingly personal and illustrated account of pearl fishing in the Gulf, see Chapter 19 (" The Gulf Pearlers ") in Alan Villiers, *Sons of Sinbad*, New York, Charles Scribners, 1969, 414, pp. 349–374. A more factual account is given in James Belgrave, *Welcome to Bahrain*, 2nd edition, Worcestershire, 1954, 164, especially pp. 47–52.

[29] James Belgrave, *Ibid.*, 57.

[30] Geoffrey Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, 383, pp. 16–17.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 357.

[33] Glob heads the National Museum and State Antiquary of Denmark.

[34] Geoffrey Bibby, " Excavating a Bahrein Citadel of 5000 Years Ago ", *Illustrated London News*, 11th January, 1958, and " The ' Ancient Indian Style ' Seals from Bahrein ", *Antiquity*, 32 (1958), 243–246. P. V. Glob, " The Prosperity of Bahrain 5000 Years Ago ", *Illustrated London News*, 4th January, 1958, pp. 14–16.

[35] P. V. Glob and T. G. Bibby, " A Forgotten Civilization of the Persian Gulf ", *Scientific American*, 203 (1960), 62–71.

[36] James Belgrave, " Bahrain, Pearl of the Gulf ", *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 47 (1960) 117–126, pp. 118–119.

[37] G. Bibby, *op. cit.*, No. 34.

[38] G. Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, p. 74. For photos of the figurine, see Glob (1958) and the present volume, *fig. V.*

[39] Glob and Bibby, *op. cit.*, no. 35, p. 65.

[40] G. Bibby, *op. cit.*, no. 38, pp. 172–73.

[41] Glob and Bibby, *op. cit.*, no. 35, p. 66.

[42] C. J. Gadd, " Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur ", *British Academy* (London) *Proceedings*, 18 (1932) n.p.

[43] P. V. Glob, " The Prosperity of Bahrein 5000 Years Ago ", *Illustrated London News*, 4th January, 1958, pp. 14–16, p. 16.

[44] G. Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, pp. 183–84.

[45] *Ibid.*, 184.

[46] *Ibid.*, 355, Bibby tends strongly to believe that both possibilities obtained.

[47] *Ibid.*, 44.

[48] Leonard Cottrell, " What It's Like to Dig in New Lands for an Old Civilization : Review of *Looking for Dilmun* ", *New York Times Book Review*, 15th March, 1970, p. 3 ff.

[49] Samuel Noah Kramer, " The Indus Civilization and Dilmun, the Sumerian Paradise Land ", *Expedition* 6 (1964, 44–52, p. 51.

[50] G. Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, p. 82.

[51] *Ibid.*, 376.

[52] *Ibid.*, 380.

[53] *Ibid.*, 208.

[54] *op. cit.*, no. 22.

[55] A. K. Sen, " Dubai's Famous Syndicates ", *Hindustan Times*, (New Delhi), 9th June, 1969.

[56] Hermann Goetz, " A Unique Indian Bronze from South Arabia ", *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda, India) 12 (1963) 241–243, p. 241.

[57] *Ibid.*, 242.

[58] *Ibid.*, 243. With the coming of the Moghuls and Islam to India, Indian iconography was dealt a blow to the extent that the Moghuls decapitated all human representations in stone, clay, wood or metal. The image described by Goetz probably suffered the same fate.

[59] Schoff, *op. cit.*, no. 22, p. 34.

[60] M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1924, 285, p. 61.

[61] The best summary of the Expedition is that by Douglas Botting, " The Oxford University Expedition to Socotra ", *The Geographical Journal*, 124 (1958), 200–209.

[62] Douglas Botting, *Island of the Dragon's Blood*, New York, Wilfred Funk, Inc., (1958), 251, p. 103, a general, highly readable account of the Oxford Expedition to Socotra.

[63] Schoff, *op. cit.*, no. 22, p. 4.

[64] A. L. Oppenheim, " The Sea-Faring Merchants of Ur ", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 74, (1954), 6–17.

[65] P. V. Glob, " The Prosperity of Bahrein 5000 Years Ago ", *Illustrated London News* 4th January, 1958, pp. 14–16.

[66] P. L. Shinnie, " Socotra ", *Antiquity*, 34 (1960), 100–110.

[67] Botting, *op. cit.*, no. 61, p. 204.

[68] From comments of Dr. A. F. Mourant (unidentified) appended to Botting, *op. cit.*, no. 61, p. 206.

[69] Laura Thompson, "Steps Toward A Unified Anthropology", *Current Anthropology*, 8 (1967), 67–91.

[70] *Ibid.*, 74.

[71] Botting, *op. cit.*, no. 61, p. 202.

[72] Especially his most recent monograph, *Looking for Dilmun.*

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Distinctive Features of the Tamil Pronominal System

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The Tamil Person-Number-Gender system is treated in traditional Grammars (Arden 1942) as having three persons (Ist, IInd and IIIrd), two numbers (singular and plural), a gender distinction involving masculine, feminine, and neuter, and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the 'Ist person plural'.[1] This is a typically Dravidian system, and in fact it differs little from PN systems in many other languages of the world; except for the inclusive/exclusive distinction, the system is practically identical to that of German, at least on the surface.

I would like to re-examine this system using a model developed for phonology, and to concentrate on the distinctive semantic features (or components) of the system, particularly on the notion of *person*. Most writers on this subject conclude that the notions Ist person, IInd person and IIIrd person are semantic primes, i.e., cannot be further broken down into other semantic components. I challenge this assumption and offer evidence that the notion 'person' is only a surface structure phenomenon and that each of the three 'persons' is actually a complex of semantic features with variable values in deep or semantic structure. Furthermore, the validity of the 'number' distinction in any but the so-called '3rd person' is also challenged, in the same way.

In a recent article entitled "On So-called 'pronouns' in English" Postal states that the feature apparatus suggested by Chomsky in *Aspects* (or some variant of it) seems adequate to handle most problems of syntax, e.g., " to specify that in the singular [+I person] and [+II person] are incompatible with each other ". I would like to show that this is a meaningless statement, or at best depends upon one's definition of the notion 'singular'. Using Postal's system of three features for number (1, 2 and 3) with two values (plus or minus), the Tamil system looks like that in Fig. 1.

1	2	3		4	
[+III]	[+III]	[+III]	/avanka (L)/ 'they' /avan/ 'he sg.'	[+III]	/naanka (L)/
[+II]	[+II]	[—II]	/avaru/ 'He hon.' /ava (L)/ 'she sg.'	[—II]	'we excl.'
[+I]	[—I]	[—I]	/atu/ 'it those things'	[+I]	

5*	6		7		8	
[—III]	[—III]	/naan/ 'I'	[—III]	/naama/	[—III]	/niinka (L)/ 'you pl.' /honorific/
[—II]	[—II]		[+II]	'we incl.'	[+II]	/nii/ 'you sg.'
[—I]	[+I]		[+I]		[—I]	

Fig. 1. *Postal's system as applied to Tamil*

1, 2 and 5 do not occur as single lexical pronouns, although it is possible to construct a referent for 1 and 2 by conjoining various items, e.g., (1) /naan-um, nii-yum, avar-um/ 'I and you and he' and (2) avar-um nii-yum/ 'he and you'. Column '5' is starred because it is the analysis of zero reference, i.e., all referents are excluded. (3) and (8) are obviously inadequate as analyses because they ignore distinctions of gender, respect, and what has usually been called 'number', that is, the distinction between 'singular' and 'plural'. Of course many writers have admitted that the notion 'plural' is somewhat strange when discussing pronouns, since obviously 'we' does not mean 'more than one I' in the same way that 'dogs' means 'more than one dog'. Postal also correctly observes that the so-called Ist person plurals (4) and (7) in the chart differ in whether the speaker includes the addressee or not, although separate surface pronouns do not exist in English, as they do in Tamil. As Postal notes, (6) 'Ist person singular' differs from (4) 'Ist plural exclusive' and (7) 'Ist plural inclusive' not only with regard to their values for the putative feature 'number', but in their feature values for the putative feature 2nd person. I claim that these differences can be better characterized by a more explicit system using notions first proposed by Jakobson,[3] such as 'speaker', 'addressee', and some others. In the process we will see that these features combine in various ways to form surface structure classes which are distinct for what has traditionally been called 'person' although 'person' is not a part of their underlying semantic analysis.

I propose the following features to fully characterize the Tamil pronominal system Fig. 2: [+/-speaker], [+/-addressee], [+/-masc], [+/-fem], [+/-animate], [+/-honor], [+/-plural]. Plural is used in a different sense from its usual meaning, which I will discuss below.

/naan/ 'I' [+speaker, —addressee, —honor, —plural]
/nii/ 'you sg.' [—speaker, +addressee, —honor, —plural]
/avan/ 'he sg.' [—speaker, —addressee, —honor, +masc, —plural]
/ava (L)/ 'she' [—speaker, —addressee, —honor, +fem, —plural]
/atu/ 'it, those things' [—speaker, —addressee, —honor, —animate, +/—plural]
/naanka (L)/ 'we excl.' [+speaker, —addressee, +/—plural]
/naama/ 'we incl.' [+speaker, +addressee, +/—plural]
/niinka (L)/ 'you plural/hon.' [—speaker, +addressee, +/—plural]
/avaru/ 'he/she hon.' [—speaker, —addressee, +honor, +/—fem, —plural]
/avanka (L)/ [same as /avaru/ in some dialects, in other dialects :]
'they' [—speaker, —addressee, —honor, +/—fem, +plural]

Fig. 2

For the time being, I will ignore certain redundancies in the system, redundancies which might be better handled by a markedness convention, such as the fact that *lack* of a feature specification for 'respect' (honorific) in the so-called 'Ist person' could be handled by redundancy rules of the sort seen in Figs. 4 and 5, as could the lack of gender distinction in all but the so-called 'IIIrd person singular'.

One of the ways in which the features in Fig. 3 differ from previous analyses is that in former systems plurality meant 'more than one plus value for the feature [speaker] and [addressee]', that is, in terms of Postal's system, if there were two or more pluses for the features I, II or III; this meant that the number of people referred to was at least two, but could be more.

Minimal specifications for /naan/, /nii/, and /niinka (L)/

/naan/	[+speaker, —addressee]
/nii/	[—speaker, +addressee]
/niinka (L)/	[—speaker, +addressee, +/—plural, +/—honor]

Fig. 3

In my system, it is possible to distinguish the referents of the so-called Ist and IInd person plural without use of the feature 'plural.' This means that we can save the notion 'plural' to mean something other than 'at least two referents' (since that is already taken care of otherwise), since speakers sometimes want to distinguish two referents from three, e.g., /naanka reNTu peerum/ 'we two people, both of us' /naanka muuNu peerum/ 'we three people,' /avanka naalu peerum/ 'those four people', etc. For this they can either use the pronominal forms without numerals, and be ambiguous, or disambiguate with the use of the numeral expressions. It is thus clear that the pronominal forms of the so-called plural are all ambiguous with regard to number; for this reason I restrict the meaning of the feature [plural] to 'more than two'. The pronouns of what is usually called 'plural' are thus optionally plural in my system, i.e., if they refer to more than one addressee or some other non-addressee.

It is also clear that the honorific forms /avaru/ and /avanka, are also ambiguous as to gender, so that their analysis can be either [+] or [—]. The non-plural, non-honorific forms /avan/ 'he' /ava(L)/ 'she' and /atu/ 'it' are of course unambiguous as to the value of the gender feature. But the so-called Ist and IInd person pronouns are clearly unspecified for sex, rather than being either/or valued. The question 'which gender ?' is not asked when the complex contains a plus value for either [speaker] or [addressee]. This is comparable to five-vowel phonological systems where the question " which value for front/back ? " is not asked for the vowel /a/. /a/, being a low vowel, needs no specification for the feature front/back (grave).

We can now also eliminate some other redundancies from the specifications of some of the same forms. The feature [honor] is also irrelevant for so-called Ist person (that is, [+speaker]) forms, rather than ambiguous. Similarly, (plurality) as I have defined it, is not relevant for feature complexes where the value for [addressee] and [other] are minus. /naan/ 'I' needs only two features, [+speaker, —addressee], /nii/"IInd singular" can be specified merely as [—speaker, +addressee] to distinguish it from /niinka(L)/ 'IInd Plural' which is either [—speaker, +addressee, +honor], or [—speaker, +addressee, +plural], in Fig. 3.

An interesting aspect of the gender-specified pronouns of the so-called IIIrd person singular is that because no other pronouns are specified for gender, these complexes can be unambiguously specified by the use of the features [+masc], [+fem], and [—animate] alone, with no other features specified. The latter, /atu/, could also be specified by the use of minus values for [masc] and [fem], i.e., as [—masc, —fem], eliminating the feature [animate] as a distinctive one, although it remains a redundant one. The choice of solutions here would rest upon what features are needed in the grammar as a whole, since [atu] is often the result of pronominalizations of some noun phrase.

If we were to reduce the distinctive feature specifications of the pronouns to minimally specifiy each form and eliminate all redundancies, it would of course be necessary to specify redundant features at some point. This could be done with a set of rules, similar to morpheme structure or marking rules in phonology. For instance, for these so-called IIIrd person pronouns, a rule would state that in the environment [+masc], [+fem], or [—animate], zero specification would be changed to [—speaker, —addressee, —honor] and in the case of [—animate] the feature [+or—plural] would also be specified. This rule would have the form as shown in Fig. 4.

Redundancy rule for IIIrd person singular

$$\phi \longrightarrow [-\text{speaker}, \quad -\text{addressee}, \quad -\text{honor}] \; / \; \left[\text{———} \; \left\{\begin{matrix} +\text{masc} \\ +\text{fem} \\ -\text{anim} \end{matrix}\right\}\right]$$

Fig. 4

The braces in this formulation indicate that only one of the features enclosed in them need be specified for the rule to operate. Similarly, for the so-called Ist person singular, redundant features could be added by the rule shown in Fig. 5.

Redundancy rule for Ist person singular

$$\phi \longrightarrow [-\text{honour}, \; -\text{plural}] \; / \; [\text{———}, \quad +\text{speaker}, \quad -\text{addressee}]$$

Fig. 5

If we compare now some of the minimally specified feature complexes for items which have been traditionally classified as one of the three persons, we see that only some of these items have specifications in common which distinguish them from other putative persons. For instance, the items /naan/ 'Ist sg.' /naanka/ 'Ist plural exclusive' and /naama/ 'Ist plural inclusive' (to employ the traditional labels) have in common the fact that they are all specified [+speaker], while all other 'persons' are [—speaker]. But of the so-called "IInd 'person'" pronouns, no one feature distinguishes them from e.g., /naama/ 'we inclusive', which shares the feature (+addressee). In a traditional analysis, /naama/ would be said to 'overlap' both the traditional Ist and IInd persons. So-called IInd person pronouns cannot be distinguished from Ist inclusive /naama/ without including the so-called IIIrd person pronouns, which are also [—speaker]. Finally, the IIIrd person pronouns are minimally specifiable with no less than two features, [—speaker —addressee], so no semantic prime of IIIrd person emerges here, either. Because of this overlap and general sharing of various features, although with different value combinations, it seems clear that the notion 'person' or further breakdowns such as 'Ist, IInd, or IIIrd person' are only surface structure phenomena, since they can be distinguished by other features which one would presumably want to have in the grammar already. This is seen in Fig. 6.

		Ist	IInd	IIIrd
speaker	..	+	—	—
addressee	..		+	—

Fig. 6

which reduces the three so-called persons to two features with varying values.

In summary, then, we can conclude that although in the surface structure certain features group themselves to produce the illusion of forming natural semantic classes, these classes are not at all obvious in the semantic or deep structure. The features I have described seem to be the only semantic primes inherent in a PNG system like that of Tamil, and the traditional surface structure features of I, II and IIIrd person are borrowed from Indo-European terminology, where I think they have probably very little value as well.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] I ignore, in this analysis, proximate/distant contrasts such as /avan ~ ivan/, which do not affect the notion of 'person'.

[2] Jakobson (1957) Although Jakobson's system was meant to apply to Russian, it describes universal characteristics of pronominal systems, concentrating on extra-linguistic factors such as 'speech act' and 'speech event'.

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Some Medieval Mercantile Communities of South India and Ceylon

K. INDRAPALA

The activities of corporate trading communities form an important feature of the economic history of medieval South India and Ceylon. Between about the ninth and the twelfth century, a number of such communities were busily engaged in the internal as well as foreign trade of these regions. The Ainnurruvar undoubtedly formed the most celebrated of these communities. In this paper an attempt will be made to analyse the activities of the Ainnurruvar (அஞ்ஞூற்றுவர்) and the communities often associated with them, especially the Valanciyar (வலஞ்சியர்), the Nakarattar (நகரத்தார்) and the Nanadesi[1] (நானாதேசி). More attention will be devoted to their activities in Ceylon, an aspect hitherto ignored by scholars.

More than seventy inscriptions, in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam, referring to the activities of the Ainnurruvar, Valanciyar, Nakarattar and the Nanadesi, have been discovered in South India. These range between the eighth and the seventeenth century. Outside the South Indian peninsula, there are eight in Ceylon, one in Sumatra and another in Burma which refer to them or to their associate bodies. These range between the ninth and the twelfth century. The Ceylonese inscriptions have been discovered at the following sites: (1) Anuradhapura (Tamil; Indrapala, 1968), (2) Puliyankulama (Sinhalese; Wickremasinghe, 1912), (3) Anaulundava (Sinhalese; Wickremasinghe 1928), (4) Polonnaruva (Tamil; Paranavitana, 1926), (5) Vahalkada (Tamil; unpublished), (6) Padaviya (Tamil, unpublished), (7) Viharehinna (Tamil, unpublished) and (8) Illakattu Eba (Tamil, unpublished). The Indonesian inscription is from Loboe Toewa (Tamil, Nilakanta Sastri, 1932) and the Burmese record is from Pagan (Tamil; Hultzsch, 1902). The widespread activities of these mercantile communities have long been recognized by South Indian historians. These communities have often been referred to as mercantile guilds and autonomous corporations of merchants (Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, p. 595; Mahalingam, 1955, p. 389; Wijetunge, 1968, p. 494). But the actual nature and organization of these 'guilds' as well as the relationship between them and the large number of professional bodies often associated with them have

[1] The I.A.T.R. system of transliteration has been adopted only for the transliteration of phrases or passages from Tamil. In the case of proper nouns that are familiar to Indologists, this system has not been adopted in this article.

not been fully analysed. There has been considerable confusion in the names used to describe these 'guilds'. In Ceylon, writers on the history of this period have made passing remarks on these communities and have collectively referred to them as Vira Valanjiyar (Paranavitana, 1960, p. 500). Some of them, like the Nakarattar, have sometimes been mistaken for divisions of the Velaikkaras (Paranavitana, 1926, pp. 334-335).

The Ainnurruvar, Nanadesi, Valanjiyar and the Nakarattar appear together in the majority of these inscriptions in South India. The most prominent among these was the Ainnurruvar, which was also known as the Ayyavale, Vira Balanjiyar and Bananju Dharmmara as well as by numerous other variants of these names, such as Aiyyappozhal (97 of 1915, *A. R. E. for 1916*, p. 121), Ayyaavaleeya Aynurrvva Svaamigalu (*E.C.*, VIII, p. 89 of the text), Samayins of Ayyaavalle (18 of 1917-18 A, *A.R.E. for 1918*, p. 14), Ayivole Mukhyarada (*E.C.*, XI, p. 181 of the text) and Ayyaavali Mukhyulaina (*E.C.* IX, p. 1 of the text). Most of these records are preambled by a long eulogy or *praśasti*, giving an account of their origin and achievements. By far the largest number of these, nearly forty, are in Kannada, while there are about a dozen each in Tamil and Telugu and a handful in Malayalam. The earliest of these goes back to the eighth century (Fleet, 1877) and the latest is dated 1680 A.D. (*A.R.E. for 1918*, p. 14). At present, therefore, the origin of this community could be traced back only to about the eighth century.

The earliest inscription of the Ainnurruvar comes from Aihole, the ancient Ayyavole, which they claim as their seat of power or headquarters. Since the earliest available of their records comes from Aihole, it is possible that it belongs to the early years of their history. The origin of this community may, therefore, date back to about the eighth century A.D. There is little doubt that Ayyavole was the place of their origin, for not only did the community call itself the Ayyavole or the Five Hundred of Ayyavole, but it also named many of the places where it established itself in later times as Southern Ayyavoles (Tenkan Ayyavole). (Cf. *E.C.*, V, p. 325 of the text). In most of their inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they claim to have come from Ahichchhatra, in North India (E.g. 180 of 1905, *A.R.E. for 1906*, p. 13). It is not possible to say how far this claim is true. But it is not impossible that some of the wandering traders from North India may have been responsible for the founding of a mercantile body which later grew into this powerful community. There is also a place called Ahichchatra in Mysore and it may be that the Ainnurruvar originally

came from this place, although they claimed later to have come from the better known Ahichchatra of North India.

The name of this community has been the subject of various interpretations by different scholars. In most of the Kannada inscriptions it appears as the Five Hundred Svamins of Ayyavale (*Ayyaavaleeya Aynurrva Svaamigalu*). (*E.C.*, VIII, p. 89 of the text). Several variants of this name occur in the Tamil epigraphs, such as *Nhaanaateeci-th-thicai-Aayiraththu Ainjnjuuttuvar*, that is, the Five Hundred of the Thousand (directions) of the several countries, (Nilakanta Sastri, 1932, p. 318). *Nhaangku-Thicai-Aayiraththu-Ainjnjuuttuvar*, that is the Five Hundred of the Thousand (directions) of the Four quarters (Nilakanta Sastri, 1932, p. 319), *Thicai-Aayiraththu-Ainjnjuuttuvar*, that is, the Five Hundred of the Thousand directions (Nilakanta Sastri, 1932, p. 319), and *Ainjnjuuttuvar* the Five Hundred (Nilakanta Sastri, 1955, p. 596). Sometimes they are just referred to as Aivole, Ayyaavale or *Ayyap-pozhal* (223 of 1918, *A.R.E. for 1919*, p. 19; *E.C.* II, Revised edition, p. 78 of the text, 97 of 1915, *A.R.E. for 1916*, p. 121). The use of the name Ainnurruvar has led R. C. Majumdar to think that this 'organization' consisted of five hundred members (Majumdar, 1922, p. 88). T. V. Mahalingam, on the other hand, feels that 'their extraterritorial organization was managed by an executive committee of five hundred members' (T. V. Mahalingam, 1955, p. 392). A. Appadorai, too, holds a similar view when he states that the 'most important personages were constituted into a board called the Five Hundred Svamis of Ayyavole' (Appadorai, 1936, p. 394). L. D. Barnett's opinion is that this 'corporation' had their central body at Ayyavole, 'which was the seat of their Board of Directors, consisting of a council of five hundred members' (Barnett in Saletore, 1934, p. 98). All these opinions are based on the interpretations of the term Ainnurruvar and deserve closer examination. Majumdar's view that the organisation consisted of five hundred members is not tenable. The activities of this body was never limited to any one area or century. On the contrary, its records have been found in several districts of South India and in Ceylon and Sumatra. These range over a period of nearly ten centuries. It is, therefore, not possible to surmise that the 'organization' had a constant number of members throughout this period and all over the vast area covered by their activities. The meaning of the term Ainnurruvar has to be explained differently. The opinions of Appadorai, Mahalingam and Barnett are based on the assumption that the Ainnurruvar was a single unified body with its headquarters at Ayyavole and that all the members mentioned in their inscriptions

all over South India owed allegiance to a central body at the headquarters. It seems rather too much to expect the Ainnurruvar to have been such a unified body with continuous history of nearly ten centuries and with branches all over South India and even overseas. Such an organization is too modern a concept and may not be applicable to this period of South Indian history. A careful analysis of the inscriptions reveals that there is no justification for the view that the Ainnurruvar represented a central body of the corporation or for the theory that they had their headquarters at Ayyavole. In the first place, it is not necessary to assume that the membership of the corporation or its central body, if ever there was one, was limited to five hundred people. In this instance, the number five hundred has to be taken as a conventional number from which this mercantile community has derived its name. This could be explained in sevaral ways. The number five hundred may preserve the memory of the original number of people who banded themselves together and originated this mercantile community. This number may have been a figure close to five hundred and may have been rounded off as five hundred. Naming guilds and other bodies after what may have been considered as their numerical strength is not something unusual in Indian history. In the Jatakas, we get references to carpenters and robbers organized in guilds of five hundred (Sattigumba Jataka, Samudda Vanija Jataka and the Valahassa Jataka). Certain other guilds had a thousand men in each of them (Sattigumba Jataka). Even in later times there were such bodies in South India. An inscription from Travancore refers to a body of six hundred while another from Bijapur refers to a Brahmana body of five hundred (*Mahaajanangal Aynuurrvara*) (*E.I.* V, p. 23). There was also a community of Brahmanas in Chithamparam (Thillai) who were known as Tillai Muuvaayiravar (The Three Thousand of Tillai) (395 of 1922, *A.R.E. for 1922/23*). In modern times we get the example of the Syrian Christians of Kerala being divided into the Elunuurukar (The Seven Hundred) and the Annuurukar (The Five Hundred) (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, II, p. 75). The name Five Hundred is, therefore, no indication of the numerical strength of the Ainnurruvar in the later centuries of their history. There is also another possibility of explaining this name. The Ainnurruvar claim in their inscriptions that they migrated from Ahichchhatra. This may mean that the community originated in South India with the arrival of some wandering traders who already belonged to a trading corporation known as Five Hundred, for it is quite possible that such corporations continued to exist from the time of the Jatakas, in North India.

It is equally untenable to claim that the Ainnurruvar had their headquarters at Aihole or Ayyavale. The fact that only one, and that too the earliest, of their records has been discovered at Aihole is not without any significance. If the Ainnurruvar had their headquarters at this place, it is strange that out of over seventy records left by them, not a single one belonging to the period after the eighth century has been found at Aihole. The fact that they continued to call themselves the Ainnurruvar of Aiyyavale does not necessarily mean that they had their headquarters at that place. There is no evidence to suggest that they had anything to do with Ayyavale after the eighth century. As we have pointed out earlier, Ayyavale appears to have been the place where this mercantile community had its origins. It seems possible, therefore, that the Ainnurruvar were originally known as the Ainnurruvar of Ayyavale. Members of their community seem to have used this name in the later centuries, too, when they had established themselves in other parts of South India. The occurrence of Ayyavale in their name seems, therefore, to be a reminder of their place of origin rather than a reference to their headquarters. Their practice of calling many of the new places where they established themselves as Southern Ayyavales (*Tenkan* or *Daksina Ayyavale*) also shows that they considered Ayyavale to be their original home (Cf. The Kasi Brahmanas and the Tillai Brahmanas called themselves so even when they were settled in places other than Kasi and Tillai respectively). Further, there is no evidence to suggest that there was any type of communication existing between Ayyavale and the other places where the Ainnurruvar were found. Ayyavale seems to have declined as a centre of their activity before the tenth century, when we begin to get their records in other places.

There is also no evidence to support the hypothesis that the Ainnurruvar were a single unified corporation of merchants. The application of the terms 'corporation' and 'guild' appears to be rather unjustified. It seems more appropriate to call them a community of merchants with common origin, interests and beliefs. They were all bound together by the Bananju Dharma, which they claimed to follow (Cf. *E.C.*, VIII, p. 89 of the text). There is no evidence of any other form of bond, administrative or otherwise, between them. There is little information regarding any definite organization in their community. An official called the Pattanasvami is met with in most of their inscriptions. But he appears as the head of a mercantile town who took part in the meetings of the Ainnurruvar as well as of other mercantile bodies (*E.g.*, *E.C.* VII, Inscription No. 94 from Shikarpur Taluq). It is, therefore, difficult to say whether he was an official of the Ainnurruvar or a

head of the town acknowledged by all the professional bodies in the town. The term *pattana-svami* (lord of the town) itself suggests that he was a common head of the town rather than an official of any one particular body. The only other official term that occurs in their records is the Yundigeya, which is of doubtful meaning (*E.C.*, II, p. 78 of the text, Revised edition). Some have suggested that it could mean a passport department (*E.C.*, II, p. 78 of the translation, revised edn.). But it is difficult to get at the real meaning of the term. The Ainnurruvar may have been a loosely organized body because of their community of interests, but sufficient evidence is lacking to call them a corporation or a trading guild. The fact that some of their associate bodies like the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar, who are also commonly referred to as mercantile corporations and guilds (Appadorai, 1936, p. 378 ff), have survived to this day as mercantile castes in South India (*The Imperial Gazetter of India*, XVIII, pp. 188-189), should serve as a corrective to the impression that the Ainnurruvar and other trading communities of this period were organized corporations (Even in modern times, the business community of Cettis have their own fiscal year, stick to their own system of book-keeping and follow their own type of business practices and customs. But they could hardly be called a corporation on these grounds).

The Ainnurruvar were primarily traders in various types of merchandise as they themselves claim in their inscriptions (*e.g.*, *E.C.*, VII, p. 159 of the text). They call themselves wandering traders and claim to have visited a large number of countries, many of which were in North India and some outside the sub-continent. These countries include Chera, Chola, Pandya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurastra, Dhanustra, Kurumbha, Kambhoja, Gaulla, Lala, Barvvara, Parasa, Nepala, Ekapada, Lambakarnna, Stri-Rajya and Ghola Mukha (*E.C.*, VII, No. 118 from Shikarpur Taluq in Mysore, p. 159 of the text). But none of their inscriptions has been found in any part of North India and this claim may not be altogether true. But the fact that their records have been left in Ceylon and in Sumatra shows that they were an adventurous community whose members went to far off lands in pursuit of their profession.

Apart from their function as traders, they seem to have occupied a supreme position among the larger number of professional bodies in the towns and acted as their leaders, exercising much power and influence over them (Nos. 118 and 119 from Shikarpur Taluq, *E.C.* VII, pp. 158-163 of the text). In many of the inscriptions, we get as many as forty-six such bodies associated with the Ainnurruvar and their Bananju Dharma, namely the Gavaras, Gatrigas, Settis,

Settiguttas, Angakaras, Settiputras, Bira-Vanigas, Nanadesis, Nadu, Nagara, Eriviras, Munaiviras, Ilan-cinka-viras, Kongavalas, Kandalis, Bhadrakas, Cavundasvamis, Singam, Sirupuli, Valattukkai, Variyans, Paradesi, Svadesi, Valangai-t-tariyar, Niyayattar, Biras, Gandigas, Gavundas, Mummuridandas, Avanakkaras, Virakkoti, Vyavaharikas, Panchalas, Kumbhalikas, Tantuvayins, Vastrabhedakas, Tila Ghatakas, Kurantakas, Vastraıaksakas, Devangas, Parikeliti, Goraksakas, Kiratas, Rajakas and Kshauras (*E.C.*, VII, pp. 158 and 159 of the text; *A.R.E. for 1918*, p. 174). The exact relationship between the Ainnurruvar and these bodies is not easy to determine. But many of the inscriptions give us some idea of the nature of this relationship. Certain writers have expressed the view that the Ainnurruvar were a federation of all these bodies and not a community by itself (Chandrasekhara Sastri, 1928, p. 223). T. V. Mahalingam considers these to be sub-divisions of the Ainnurruvar (Mahalingam, 1955, p. 390). But these views are again based on the assumption that all these bodies are organized trade-guilds. There is no doubt that the Ainnurruvar were a community distinct from all the others mentioned with them. They are referred to as such in their records, where the Ainnurruvar, Nanadesi, Nakarattar, the eighteen *samayas* and other communities are distinctly listed as different bodies (131 of 1926, *A.R.E. for 1925-26*, p. 47; 216 of 1918, *R.R.E. for 1919*, p. 19). But in all these instances, the supreme position of the Ainnurruvar over the others is clearly brought out. There are many instances to show that the Ainnurruvar presided over several meetings where affairs of the other communities were settled (*E.C.*, VII, p. 159 of the text). The *prasasti* appearing in many of their records is called the 'Aynuurvvara Prasasti' and is clearly in praise of the Ainnurruvar (*E.C.*, VII, p. 159 of the text). This community seems, therefore, to have had considerable power and influence over the many occupational groups in the towns and trading centres of South India. They as well as the major mercantile communities like the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar were conceded a share of the administrative duties of the state. We find in the inscriptions that they had a share in the collection of the tolls, taxes and rates (*E C.*, VII, p. 159 of the text; 9 of 1918-19, Appendix A, *A.R.E. for 1919*, p. 15; 216 of 1918, *A.R.E. for 1919*, p. 19; 377 of 1911, *A.R.E. for 1912*, p. 32) and had the power of declaring certain towns as *erivirapattanas* and Southern Ayyavales (E.g., 342 of 1912, *A.R.E. for 1913*, p. 42; E. C., VIII, p. 89 of the text). They also reserved to themselves the power to grant trading privileges in certain articles to individual traders (10 and 11 of 1918-19, A. *A.R.E. for 1919*, p. 15). They were great benefactors of temples to which they granted part of the rolls and rates collected by them (377 of 1911, *A.R.E. for 1912*, p. 32).

The communities associated with Ainnurruvar were not all mercantile in character. Many were other occupational groups which later evolved into castes. Examples of such communities are the *Panchalas* (the five classes of smiths), *kumbhalikas* (potters) and the *ksauras* (barbers), who were among the eighteen *samayas*. Even the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar later evolved into castes (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XVIII, p. 198). There were also some communities such as the *Eriviirar*, *Munaiviiray*, *Ilhancinka Viirar*, *Konkavaalhar* and the *Mummuridanda* which were given to martial pursuits (Nilakanta Sastri, 1932, p. 319). Their names suggest the nature of the work they were doing.

As mentioned earlier, there are eight inscriptions in Ceylon which refer to the presence of the Ainnurruvar and their associates in the Island, although Ceylon has been omitted in the list of countries covered by their activities, furnished in their records. The earliest of these inscriptions comes from Anuradhapura. The inscriptions is dated in the reign of Senavarman. Since palaeographically the epigraph could be said to belong to the ninth or the tenth century A.D., this Senavarman could be any one of the five Senas who reigned in these centuries (Indrapala, 1968, p. 32). The inscription records the building of a Buddhist temple by the 'Tamils of the Four Countries' (*Nhaanku NhaTTuth-Thamizhar*). They also refer to themselves as *Nhanku NhaaTToom* (We of the Four Countries). It appears that they were a single body rather than a group of Tamils from four different countries. These inscriptions are those left by the Ainnurruvar and their associates and belong to the twelfth and the thirteenth century (E.g., *E.C.* VIII, p. 89 of the text; VII, p. 310 of the text; XI, p. 126 of the text). In these inscriptions we find references to a community called the Naalku Naadu, who were associated with the Ainnurruvar. They were probably a trading community like the *Nhalu-Nhagaraththar* 'Those of the Four Cities' (130 *of 1916*, *A.R.E. for 191*), but there is no evidence on this point. The *Nhanku NhaaTu* of the Anuradhapura Inscription seems to have been the same community as the Naalku Naadu of the Kannada inscriptions. This may mean that the Ainnurruvar and some of their other associates were also present in the Island in the ninth century.

There is definite evidence, however, regarding the presence of the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar in Ceylon in the eleventh century. The source of our information is the well known Velaikkara inscription from Polonnaruva (Paranavitana, 1926, pp. 330-338), which was set up not long after the death of Vijayabahu I (Wickremasinghe, 1928, p. 250). Wickremasinghe dates this between A.D. 1137 and 1153. The Valanciyar and the Nakarattar are referred to here as

those closely associated with the Velaikkaras. Their exact relationship is couched in the following lines of the inscription :

Engkalhukku muuthathaaikalhaai ulhlha Valanjceyaraiyum

engkalhooTu kuuTi varum Nhakaraththaar ulhlhiTTooraiyum kuuTTi...

(Paranavitana, 1926, p. 337).

Paranavitana has rendered it in English thus :

> Having called together the Valanjiyar who are our leaders, and the Nagarattar and others, who always accompany us... (Paranavitana, 1926, p. 338).

The Valanjceyar of our inscription were, of course, the Valanciyar, who are referred to as Bananjigas in the Kannada inscriptions. In the first place, these lines inform us that the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar were in Ceylon along with the Velaikkaras in the twelfth century and possibly in the eleventh century too. But more important than that is the light thrown on the nature of the relationship between the Valanciyar and the Velaikkaras. Commenting on this Paranavitana says that 'it seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or 'hands' to which the Velaikkaras were divided consisted of the Mahatantrar, the Valanciyar and the Nagarattar' (Paranavitana, 1926, p. 334), and adds that 'as the Valanciyars are said to have been the leaders (*muuthaathai*) of the Velaikkara troops, it might be conjectured that the latter migrated to Ceylon with the Valanciyar whom they served (Paranavitana, 1926, p. 335). But, as Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out (1954, p. 70), there is no reason to assume that the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar formed two of the three divisions of the Velaikkaras. The lines quoted above refer to the Valanciyar as the *Muuthaathaikalh* of the Velaikkaras. Paranavitana has translated the word '*muuthaathaikalh*' leaders. Nilakanta Sastri has the following comments to make on this translation :

> The translation of mutadigal into 'leaders' is not quite accurate; the word literally means 'grandfathers', and what is meant cannot be physical descent when it is one corporation claiming this relation to another, and must imply some kind of spiritual or constitutional relation. (*ibid*).

Although *muuthaathaikalh* means 'grandfathers' or 'ancestors' it could also be taken to mean 'elders' (*ibid*). In this context, it is not possible to take the first two meanings, for Valanciyar being a

mercantile community and the Velaikkaras being a mercenary body we cannot say that one is descended from the other. The meaning 'elders' seems to be more appropriate. But here too the Valanciyar cannot be taken to be elders in the physical sense. They appear to have been regarded as the leaders of the Velaikkaras, as Paranavitana has translated, and seem to have been elders in the social sense. This relationship becomes clear when we look at the social structure in South India. In the eleventh and twelfth century, and in fact till recent times, the various castes of the Dravidian areas of South India were divided into two major sections called the ITangkai (Left Hand) and the Valangkai (Right Hand) (Cf. Saletore, 1934, pp. 68 ff.). The Velaikkara inscription under discussion attests to the presence of members of these two sections in Ceylon and in the twelfth century (*E.I.* XVIII, p. 11·41). Certain mercantile communities were considered to be the leaders or heads of these sections. In the case of the *Valangkai*, the Nanadesi and the Valanciyar were among the leaders while the *ITangkai* had the Nakarattar as one of their leaders, (*E.C.* XI, p. 61 of the text); *The Imperial Gazetter of India*, XVIII, pp. 198-199). The *Valangkai* were often considered to be of a higher social status than the *ITangkai* (Saletore, 1934, p. 68 ff.). Although the Velaikkara forces in Ceylon were drawn from both the sections, as they admit in our inscription, the Mahatantra division, who alone call the Valanciyar as their *muutha-athaikalh* appear to have been drawn from the *Valangkai*. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that the *Nhakarath-thaar ulhlhiTToor* are referred to as those who accompany the Mahatantra. The phrase *Nhakaraththaar ulhlhiTToor* has been translated by Paranavitana as 'the Nakarattar and others' (Paranavitana, 1926). But literally *ulhlhiTToor* means 'those included', from *ulhlhiTu* meaning 'include'. The phrase should, therefore, mean those included (in a group) with the Nakarattar. This seems to be reference to the ITangkai leaders. The reason why this group is mentioned as those who accompany the Mahatantra must be the subordinate position they held in the presence of the Valangkai. The leaders of both the sections were invited for the meeting of the Velaikkaras obviously because the latter were drawn from both the sections of the Dravidians. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that the mercenary forces called the Velaikkaras must have gone to the Island along with the mercantile communities, who as we have seen earlier had a number of martial communities associated with them in South India.

The Valanciyar, the Nakarattar and some of the mercenary bodies were only a few of the associates of the Ainnurruvar who were in Ceylon in the twelfth century. There are at least four Tamil

inscriptions which refer to many others. These records, which are unpublished, come from Vahalkada, Viharehinna, Ilakkattu Eba and Padaviya and contain *prasasti* of the Ainnurruvar at the beginning. Unfortunately all are badly damaged and the actual purport of the inscriptions cannot be ascertained. Two of them appear to be dated in the reign of Parakramabahu and another in the reign of Gajabahu. The Parakramabahu of the first two inscriptions may be either the first or the second of that name, or Nissanka Malla, who also was known as Parakramabahu. Palæography is not of much use in solving this problem for the reign of Parakramabahu I is followed within half a century by those of Nissanka Malla and Parakramabahu II, which is too short a period for any marked development in the script. But the script of these two inscriptions is very similar to that of the Tamil inscriptions of the time of Gajabahu II and hence they may belong to the reign of Parakramabahu I or Nissana Malla. Moreover, these inscriptions come from Vahalkada and Padaviya which do not fall under the region which was ruled by Parakramabahu II. Apart from these Tamil records, there is another inscription of the Ainnurruvar in the Sinhalese script of the twelfth or thirteenth century. Unfortunately only thiee lines, containing part of the *prasasti*, have been pieserved (Wickremasinghe, 1928, p. 236).

The *prasasti* in the Tamil inscriptions is a shorter version of the one appearing in the Kannada records and begins with the words '*Samastha bhuvanaasraya panca sata viira saasana*'. As in the Kolar inscription of 1180 A.D. ('Ayyaavaleepura parameesvariya makkal' *E.C.*, X Inscription No. 170 from Kolar), the Ainnurruvar describe themselves here as the 'children of the Goddess of the City of Aiyyapozhlil' (Aiyyapozhit-pura Parameesvarikku makkalh). The *prasasti* of the Vahalkada inscription, for example, has the following lines :

Samasthalbhuvanaasraya panca sata viira saasanam
....
Srii Aiyyapozhit-pura Parameesvarikku makkalhaakiya
veyya thaTar nhaTuveel ceyarmathithooy nheTungkoTi maaTa
viithi pathinheTTu paTTanhamum muppaththiraNTu veelhaamum
atupaththunhaanku kaTikaith thaavalhamum thaavalhaththu
valharkinhta ceTTiyum ceTTipuththiranhaaka valharikita
maNTalavaacciyum angkakkaatanhum aavaNakkaatanhum.......
kongkavaalharum...
pathinheNpuumitheeci thicaiyaayiraththanjnjuuttuvar kuuTi......

The *prasasti* is followed by a list of members of the different communities which were associated with the Ainnurruvar in the Island.

The number of communities is not as large as in the South Indian inscriptions. Among those mentioned in the preserved portions of the inscriptions are the *cetti*, *cettiputrar*, *nanadesi*, *valanciyar*, *virakoti*, *valangkai*, *angkakarar*, *avanakkarar*, *ilanjcinlam* and the *kongkavaalhar*. The *cettis* were traders as well as money-lenders (Appadorai, 1936, pp. 379-380). Here they are referred to as the *cettis* of the *pathinheNpuuminhaaTu* (*pathinneNpuuminhaaTTu-c-ceTTikalh*). A number of members of this community are named in these inscriptions. In the Vahalkada inscriptions, these *cettis* and the *Virakoti* are recorded to have done something in order that a certain town may not be destroyed (*ippaTTaNamazhivu paTalaa-kaathu entu*). It is not clear what the nature of their work was and which town was protected in that manner. Several place-names in the North Central and North Western provinces have *cetti* as their first element. Many of these toponyms seem to date from the twelfth and the thirteenth century, and appear to have been the result of *cetti* settlements in the places represented by them.

The *cettiputrar* may also have been traders, but nothing is available regarding the nature of their activities. The Nanadesi, as we have already noted, were a community of traders like the Valanciyur. In many of the Kannada inscriptions they are referred to as the Ubhaya Nanadesi (both Nanadesis) Cf. *E.C.*, IX, p. 83 of the text; *E.I.*, XIX, p. 25). An inscription from Bangalore helps us to know what Ubhaya Nanadesis were. In this occurs the phrase 'svadesa paradesa nanadesam' this is, the local and the foreign Nanadesis. This phrase could also mean 'those of the *svadesa*, *paradesa* and *nanadesa* (communities),' for we come across a body known as the Paradesis, who were different from the Nanadesis (173 of 1932/33, *A.R.E.* for 1932-33, p. 24). It is difficult to settle this question without examining some of the original inscriptions which remain inaccessible at the moment. It may be that they were divided into a local and a foreign group. It is not clear whether the Nanadesi were actually a community of merchants from different countries, as the name implies, or whether they were so called because they were descended from foreign merchants who had established themselves in the Kannada country where the community seems to have originated. Whatever their origin may have been, they were one of those who travelled to distant lands in pursuit of their trade, possibly with the Ainnurruvar. Their presence in Pagan is known from the Tamil inscription discovered there (Hultszch, 1902, p. 198). In Ceylon, apart from the evidence of the Tamil inscriptions, there is also a Sinhalese epigraph of the time of Queen Lilavati (1197-1200, 1209-1210, 1211-1212) which furnishes us with some information regarding the activities of the Nanadesis in the Island

(Wickremasinghe, 1912, p. 181). According to this record, in the reign of Lilavati the Nanadesis had a customs-house at Anuradhapura, the proceeds from which were used to supply spices and other requisites for an alms-hall. As in South India, these mercantile communities also engaged in providing charitable services and in patronising religious institutions.

The Virakoti or Virakkotiyar were another mercantile community found in Ceylon in about the twelfth century. They are recorded in the Vahalkada inscription to have associated themselves with the Cettis in taking certain steps to protect a town. In May 1969 another Tamil inscription of the Virakoti was discovered at Illakkattu Eba, near Chilaw. In this record they are referred to as the PathinheNpuumi VirakoTi. They are mentioned in a few South Indian inscriptions, too, but do not seem to have been a prominent trading body (11 of 1910, *A.R.E. for 1910*).

The Angkakkaras and the Avanakkaras appear to have been two of the non-mercantile communities that were in the Island at this time with the Ainnurruvar. The Angkakkaras are frequently mentioned in the records of the Ainnurruvar, but it has not been possible to find out the nature of their profession. An *angkakkaaran*, in Tamil, is a dandy or a masquerader (*Madras Lexicon* I, p. 18), and is derived from the Sanskrit word *anga*, meaning 'body'. Perhaps they were professional entertainers who specialised in masque. The Avanakkaras do not find mention in the South Indian inscriptions but are referred to in the Vahalkada and the Viharehinna epigraphs. The name is derived from *aavaNam* (Skt. *apana*), meaning market or bazaar (*Madras Lexicon*, I, p. 249). Perhaps the Avanakkaras were those who were responsible for the maintenance of markets and other public places.

The Valangkai of our inscriptions were the eighteen castes of South India who were categorized under this name. The term occurs in the Velaikkara inscription as well, along with the term Itangkai. This clearly shows that the South Indian caste-system was maintained among the Dravidians in Ceylon. The Valanciyar and the Nanadesis as well as some of the Velaikkaras were Valangkai communities. But no information is available regarding the number and names of the Valangkai castes in the Island.

There is no information at all in the inscriptions regarding the *Ilan-cinkam* (young lions). It is not possible to conjecture from the name and nature of their profession. The *Kongkavaalhar* appear to have been a community given to military pursuits (Nilakanta

Sastri, 1932, p. 319). The name means 'swordsmen of the Kongu (country)'. They may have been a class of sword-fighters who were among the mercenary communities who accompanied the mercantile bodies. The Vahalkada inscriptions has a list of a number of military personalities who were associated with the *Cettis*, *Virakkotiyar* and the *Valanciyar*. They have such titles as *seenaapathi* (general), *mallan* (wrestler) and *kanNTan* (victor or defeater). A certain Cattan is referred to as the Valanjceyar (Ceenaapathi) apparently because he was in the employ of the Valanciyar. The mercantile communities may have employed the mercenary forces to protect their endowments as well as their trust properties. This perhaps explains the presence of the Mummuridandam on many occasions when grants were made by the mercantile communities (Cf. *E.C.*, VII, p. 159 of the text; *E.C.*, XI p. 126 of the text, *E.C.* IX, p. 83 of the text).

Some at least of the mercenary communities from which the Velaikkara forces were drawn seem to have gone to the Island along with the mercantile communities. The claim of the Mahantanras, a section of the Velaikkaras, that the Valanciyar were their elders and the invitations extended to the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar to attend an important meeting of the Velaikkara forces at Polonnaruva shows that these mercenary bodies were closely associated with the leading mercantile communities from South India. This association may have been partly due to the fact that the Valanciyar and the Nakarattar were the leaders of the Valangkai and Itangkai castes, from which several of the Velaikkaras were recruited and partly because some of them may have been originally in the service of the mercantile communities and accompanied them to the Island.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.R.E. .. Annual Report on Epigraphy, Archæological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras. The number preceding *A.R.E.*, is the number of the inscription together with the year in which it was discovered or listed (*e.g.* 97 of 1915 means Inscription No. 97 of the year 1915, mentioned in the *A.R.E.* referred to).

E.C. .. *Epigraphia Carnatica* (Mysore).

E.I. .. *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta and later Delhi).

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Tamil Journalism and the Indian Community in Malaya 1920—1941

RAJESWARI AMBALAVANAR

Significant social and political changes were diffusing into the Indian community in this period and this ferment found its clearest expression in contemporary journalism. But before plunging into this issue of how the press nurtured the political, social and intellectual development of the Indian community, it would be pertinent for us to discuss the factors which initially promoted this spate of active journalism. Firstly the increase in immigration, particularly of educated classes, provided the initial impetus for this enthusiasm. An examination of the literacy figures for the years 1921 and 1931 show improvements in each succeeding decade.[1] This was definitely a product of the immigration of educated classes rather than the result of Malaya's educational system, since Tamil education was restricted to the primary level. Little progress too was made in English education. Hence experienced journalists, came from India and Ceylon, and this held important implications for the development of journalism in Malaya. The influence of Indian journalism on Malayan Indian journalism was conspicuous. In the 1920's Indian society in Malaya had attained sufficient size and social cohesion to merit the term of "community". This development implied a subsequent quest for self-recognition and self-assertiveness and the necessity for a vehicle for the expression of their social values and sentiments. Hence vernacular journalism was seized upon because of the peculiar relationship between language, ethnicism and nationalism.

The Indian "elite" also underwent a period of soul-searching and self-examination with respect to their stakes in the country. Questions about their political status, employment opportunities, facilities for the acquisition of land, Indian labour problems, all vexed the Indian intelligentsia. Britain's apparent "pro-Malay" policy drew anguished cries from this sector. And the first signs of this consciousness was manifested in the appearance of periodicals and newspapers. Undoubtedly the major newspapers were influential in shaping the views and opinions of the Indians. Tamil-language publications also swelled to a flood because of a strong desire to revive cultural and religious zeal among the immi-

grants. Here it is possible that the Indian journalists felt it incumbent for them to assume such a role because of stimuli from the other communities, particularly the European community which had proved itself efficient in looking after its socio-cultural needs. Journalism too was regarded by many as a field where they could establish themselves as leaders of the community. Hence unknown amateurs sought the public eye through this channel of communication. The profitability of the press led to increasing commercialisation of journalistic enterprise. Earlier to those who had started newspapers for idealogical reasons or as a by-product of associational activity, were added others who considered journalism as a lucrative venture.

The development of Tamil Journalism in Malaya demonstrated striking similarities to its counterpart in South India. Hence a short summary of the Tamil press in India would be relevant to our present discussion.[2] The Indian publications influenced Malaya's Indian community in two broad ways. The Malayan Indian press was modelled roughly on the Indian press. Furthermore, the Indian publications were read avidly by the Malayan Indians and hence they directly imbibed the thoughts propagated through these pages. The first regular Tamil newspaper in Tamilnad, the *Swadesamitran* was started in 1882 by G. Subramanya Iyer. This newspaper was flagrantly nationalistic and was highly popular among the overseas Indians particularly in Ceylon and Malaya. It disseminated Congress propaganda and accentuated its appeal to the Tamils abroad by carrying the message of Subramanya Bharati—a poet of Tamil and Indian Nationalism. Middle class Indian associations appear to have been avid contributors to this paper. The other Tamil dailies: *Desa Bhaktan*, *Dinamani* (1934), and *Tamil Nadu* (1926) had a lesser impact on the Indians here. But in 1935 with the appearance of the "*Viduthalai*" (a staunch advocate of the Self-Respect movement), the Dravidian movement began to steadily infiltrate into the Tamil population in Singapore, Penang and Kuala Lumpur. It was more in the nature of a views paper rather than a newspaper. The reformist impulse manifest here, began to stir the Malayan Tamil population to resort to similar journalism to reform the abuses in society. The *Tamil Murasu*, *Seerthirutham*, *Munnetram*, *Tamilan and Jothy* published in Singapore were closely modelled on the *Viduthalai*, except that the anti-religious tone of the latter was moderated. This journalism also represented the first break-through by non-Brahmins into what was hitherto a strong Brahmin monopoly. Brahmin domination of the Indian press was an acknowledged fact throughout the early twentieth century. G. Subramanya Iyer was succeeded by A. Rangaswamy

Iyengar on the *Swadesamitran*. The *Desabhaktan* though started by T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar soon passed into the hands of V.V.S. Iyer—a revolutionary associated with the Sarvarkar brothers. This brahmin hegemony over Tamil journalism stemmed from two factors : Firstly, the Brahmins constituted a literati group in Indian society. Secondly their recognised position of leadership in society enabled them to assert themselves, as protagonists of new movements or assume leadership of existing movements. Only with the progress of the Self-Respect movement did a new class of journalists arise, who owed their origins to diverse caste groups and to more parochial loyalties. Typical of this group were Dr P. Varadarajulu Naidu and T. S. Chockalingam.

The English language newspapers of India had a greater impact on the Indians here. These newspapers in the 1920's and 1930's were being steadily infused with concern for their compatriots overseas. They joined forces with the nationalist agitators in pressing for improvements in emigration, and for a definite political status for the Indians in Malaya. The *Hindu* of Madras, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Leader* of Allahabad, contained long drawn-out debates on these issues. Their pronouncements may have acted as a catalyst on the apathetic Indian middle class in Malaya and injected zeal for community progress. One interesting extract from the *Hindu* of Madras is contained in the *Straits Times* of March 25, 1937.

> " The Indian in Malaya is discriminated against on every side. His status is...far below that of other communities in the country. The public services are closed to him under cover of protecting native interests, arable land is denied to him; in the professions his existence is barely tolerated. Even the Malaya-born Indian, who does not know India, is treated as an alien in the land of his birth ! To permit the emigration of Indians to a country where they are treated with such little consideration seems consistent neither with the self-respect of India nor with the best interests of prospective emigrants..."[3]

The *Hindu* was a moderate paper as far as Indian National politics was concerned but on the treatment of Indians overseas, it was a constant thorn in the sides of the British Government. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* alarmed the British even more. Emigration to Malaya, particularly the Kangany system was singled out for caustic comment.[4]

The newspapers of India also carried useful propaganda on the Indian Nationalist movement and hence succeeded in arousing and

sustaining nationalistic fervour for several decades. It was also this patriotic motive which eventually resulted in the emergence of local dailies in Malaya. The *Young India* ranked significant in this dissemination of Indian Nationalism to Malaya. It was started in 1918 by Gandhi and discussed a variety of subjects relating to the Independence Movement. It carried debates on Hindu-Muslim unity, English education, caste, modernisation of industry, temperance, truth and non-violence. Hence it proved to be a valuable medium of communication between the Congress party and the Indians domiciled abroad. The libraries of the major Indian associations and even individual Indians were popular subscribers to this publication. Being moderate in tone it escaped detection under the *Seditious Publications Prohibition Enactment of 1919.* The *Leader* of Allahabad was also a critic of British policy in Malaya and these articles were often quoted in the *Indian* of the Selangor Indian Association. The exclusion of Indians from the Malayan civil service and the general indifference towards the community, formed the nub of this criticism.

> " At the Imperial Conference of 1921, a resolution was passed stating that, 'there is an incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the British empire and the existence of the disabilities of British Indians lawfully domiciled in some other parts of the empire. " And that " in the interests of the solidarity of the British commonwealth, it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised. " Therefore the " Shenton Thomas law " that Indians should be excluded in Malaya as they are in other parts of the colonial empire contradicts with the Imperial Conference Principle. "[5]

The criticism of these Indian papers perturbed the European planting community here, who found themselves in an uncomfortable position after the depression when labour shortage was acute. Fresh emigration from India was desired and such criticism might dissuade the Indians from emigrating. The *Planting Association of Malaya* motioned for caution in their members' statements on this, or otherwise it would provide more fuel for criticism.[6]

The British authorities too recognised the impact of these Indian publications on the Indians here, and hence maintained close vigilance on the entry of subversive publications. These fears multiplied with the progress of the Congress Movement in the 1920's when strikes, boycotts and nationwide agitations imperilled British rule in India. To counter this infiltration of subversive

material they passed the *Seditious Publications Prohibition Enactment in 1919*.[7] Under this legislation, publications which were overtly anti-British or violent were prohibited. Penalty imposed was, either life imprisonment or imprisonment not exceeding 7 years or a fine not exceeding $10,000. This legislation was followed in 1939 by another Enactment where any seditious tendency, any attempt to raise discontent, conspiracy or even seditious words, were enough cause for one's arrest without a warrant.[8] British caution against any penetration of alien influence on the immigration communities accounts for the tranquillity of the pre-war period in Malaya. An examination of the publications which came under censure, will enlighten us on what ideologies and movements alarmed the British most.

In 1922 those which were prohibited were "*The Vanguard of Indian Independence*," edited by B. L. Singh of the Indian News Service of Friend of Freedom for India. All publications of the Hindustani Ghadr Party (San Francisco, U.S.A.) were banned together with M. N. Roy's "*India in Transition*"[9] In 1939 the British prohibited all publications of M. Baraktulla, Tarak Nath Das and of M. N. Roy. Even Subhas Chandra Bose's publications between 1920-35 were excluded.[10] His "*Forward Bloc*" of 1940 also met with injunction. From the above list of publications banned by the British, it is evident that the British were anxious to prevent the more extremist statements of the case for Indian independence. Communism and socialism which might subvert the labouring masses were also kept at bay. Even Indian papers in Malaya were censored by the British while British owned papers were not censored, and this was a grievance which many Indians harboured against the regime.

Tamil journalism in Malaya had its origins in the *Tamilaham* of 1921. From its very inception the *Tamilaham* broached the issue of Indian emigration to Malaya. In 1922 it urged the Indians not to come to Malaya to work on the rubber plantations.[11] Its editor Narasimha Iyengar later left the *Tamilaham* and started in mid 1924, the *Tamil Nesan* (*T.N.*) in Kuala Lumpur. The *Tamil Nesan* maintained throughout this period a strong pro-Congress bias while in local politics it was more pro-Indian and less anti-colonial. This keen interest in Indian labour problems was accentuated by the presence of labour leaders like R. H. Nathan and Subramaniam Iyer on its editorial board in the late 1930's. The editorials frequently debated on such issues as the Indian labourer's wages, housing and the attitude of planters and of the British towards the Malayan Indians. They also attacked with enthusiasm and energy,

British land policy, Asian unofficial representation in the Federal and Legislative Councils and the apathy of the Indian middle class. With this accent in its contents, the *Tamil Nesan* was steadily assuming the role of spokeman for the Indian community and hence was drawn into a bitter controversy with the Malay newspaper *The Majlis* in 1932.[12] The outbursts made by *The Majlis* was symptomatic of the growing consciousness among Malays in the 1930's that their rights were being usurped by the acquisitive, alien races. Their resentment towards the non-Malay race is vividly contained in the excerpt below :

> " If they still are dissatisfied with, Government can inform these foreigners that the protection of the Malays isn't like the protection of the deer in the forest by the game warden, who sees to it that the deer isn't killed by hunters, but allows it to be preyed upon by other enemies such as the tiger and other carnivorous animals living in the same forest. "[13]

The *Tamil Nesan's* demands for improvements in the social, political and economic status of the Indians, infuriated *The Majlis* and in the early months of 1932 *The Majlis* took to duelling editorially with the Tamil Nesan.[14] *The Majlis* cautioned against the entry of Indian Nationalists into Malaya and urged for restrictions on their freedom of speech. *The Majlis* also made a dig at the *Tamil Nesan's* concern for Indian labour upliftment by quipping, that the editor should seek an estate manager's post to strengthen his identification with the labourer's cause. In reply the *Tamil Nesan* insisted that the Indians here only sought social and economic security and entertained not the slightest intention to usurp the rights of the Malays.

The *Tamil Nesan's* preoccupation with the Indian Congress Movement accentuated the anxiety of these Malay ultra-nationalists. Indian Congress propaganda dominated the paper throughout the two decades. They popularised the wearing of *Khaddar* and emphasised social upliftment through the inculcation of temperance, thrift and cleanliness. Achievement of this would eliminate the derogatory attitude that the British, Chinese and Malays held towards the Indian. The visists of Indian dignitaries like Nehru, Sastri and Kunzru set ablaze a series of articles, covering their visits. It attacked parochialism as manifested in the Self-Respect Movement of E. V. Ramasamy Naicker. The repercussions in Malaya of the anti-Hindi agitations in Madras in 1937, were inadvertently omitted by the *Tamil Nesan.* The activities of the Indian Muslim League also found no mention in their pages, and the *Tamil Nesan* was accused of maintaining an attitude of indifference

towards the Muslim community. This created dissension between the *Tamil Nesan* and the Muslims which led to the emergence of the *Desa Nesan* as an organ of the Tamil Muslims. The *Tamil Nesan* also asserted itself as the progenitor of a Hindu cultural revival on Malayan soil. The Brahmanical origins of the editors facilitated this movement. The editors often served as trustees of the main temples in Kuala Lumpur. The major Hindu festivals were reported extensively. Cultural activities such as dance, drama and music also received attention. This emphasis on the socio-cultural progress of the Indian community may in part have been a product of the stringent British regulations on political discussions. Occasionally, pungent and spirited political discussions did appear in the editorials and readers' columns, especially with the change to radical editorialship in the 1930's. But in 1940 the British again clamped down hard on journalism with the press regulations of 1940.

This contribution of the *Tamil Nesan* to the socio-economic advancement of the Indian community is clearly discerned when we examine the patterns of leadership delineated by the journalists associated with the *Tamil Nesan*. The majority of the editors were of Bramin origin. The Brahmins constituted an important section of the literati in the Malayan Indian society. The breakdown of their ritualistic functions here, where members of the *Poosari* (*non-Brahmin*) caste often assumed these functions, meant that the Brahmins had to seek their fortunes in such literary ventures as journalism. This caste identity was often strengthened by family involvement in the enterprise. Narasimha Iyengar founded the *Tamil Nesan*; later his son-in-law Parthasarthi assumed control. In the mid-1930's Subramaniam Iyer and R. H. Nathan served on the editorial board. Hence the Brahmin element prevailed throughout the two decades. The editorial staff were staunch congress disciples and their nationalistic fervour prodded them on to strong identification with the reform movements sweeping Indian society then. This group delineated another major trend in community leadership. Their emergence marked the first signs of a vigorous traditionalist leadership. However despite the fact that they stemmed from traditional sources, they did possess middle-class characteristics of an English education, and held more universal loyalties. Their identification with the labour upliftment first in a conservative manner under Narasimha Iyengar, but later in a more radical way under the sway of R.H. Nathan and Subramaniam Iyer, held interesting clues for the post-war Trade Union movement.

Narasimha Iyengar was born in Trichy in 1890 and received his education in India.[15] In 1915 he left for Rangoon where he

worked in the Accountant-General's Office until his departure to Malaya in 1921. He was an assistant manager in the Industrial Press in Kuala Lumpur when he started the *Tamilaham.* This ceased publication in 1932, despite the enthusiastic reception it received in Malaya. In mid-1924 the first issue of the *Tamil Nesan* made its appearance. It was initiated as a weekly, later transformed into a bi-weekly and in 1937 emerged a daily. Flushed with this success, Iyengar next sallied forth into English journalism which remained largely a monopoly of the British and of British sympathisers. The *Pioneer* initiated in March 1929 as a counterpart of the *Tamil Nesan* failed miserably.[16] The actual nature of the contents of the *Pioneer* are unknown to the writer, for no copies of this paper are extant and interviews have revealed little. Iyengar's social status and influence in community affairs was remarkable. He figured pre-eminent particularly in religio-cultural affairs, being a trustee of the Kuala Lumpur Māriamman Temple for several years. His interest in labour problems was sustained by his successors. But his conservatism was a marked feature and the paper was infected with this, pursuing a pro-Indian policy with little of anti-colonialism, until the emergence of K. B. Subbiah and R. H. Nathan in the period 1934-41.

His son-in-law Parthasarathi Iyer too conformed to his tradition. But with the entry of Subramaniam Iyer in 1937, certain changes set in, in this pattern of leadership. The paper itself could not manifest this infusion of new spirit visibly because of the stringent regulations. But some of the editors were directly drawn into the vortex of strife in certain sectors of the community. Subramaniam Iyer was a keen follower of the Indian National Congress and also a staunch socialist.[17] In 1940 when *Tamil Nesan* workers struck for better wages both Subramaniam Iyer and K. B. Subbiah openly supported the strikers. Conflict and fission set in, and Subramaniam Iyer left the *Tamil Nesan* and set up his own paper the *Jeyamani.* This was an organ devoted to the improvement of labour and was a pre-cursor of the *Jananayagam* of the immediate post-war years.[18] One interesting observation is that the Klang strikes and the subsequent banishment of R. H. Nathan received publicity in the *Jeyamani* while the *Tamil Nesan* discreetly maintained silence.[19]

S. Iyer was an ardent disciple of Subhas Chandra Bose, whose being active in the Indian National Army and the *Jananayagam* (1945—48) further engendered suspicion. He left for India in late 1946. His affiliations with the communists was more an act of expediency rather than of convictions. The M.C.P. particularly after the Klang strikes when Indians were disillusioned by British

cruelty and suppression, realised the potential that the Indian masses possessed for a popular communist movement. Hence they resorted to the popular organs of propaganda particularly the newspapers. That Indians never were committed communists is demonstrated by the fact that though some Indians flirted with communism, they ended this brief sojourn when the communists decided to go underground. But communism had been steadily infiltrating into the Indian labouring masses as early as the 1920's among the Singapore Harbour Board and the Municipality workers. The Batu Arang strikes of 1936 also revealed some Indian communist sympathisers. But this ideology was seized upon by Indians more for opportunistic reasons rather than from true dedication to its ideals. Socialism was a more acceptable creed to the Indians than communism. The Indian middle class was disgusted by the arrogant and exploitative British capitalist as represented by the planting community. British economic imperialism was keenly felt by the Indians because of their countrymen on the estates. It is a justifiable argument that British capitalism in India did not unleash as great a resentment as it did among the Indians in Malaya. Capitalism in India was confined to the agency-houses and the Indian nationalists were perturbed more by the British executive rather than the capitalist. But in Malaya the first signs of resentment exhibited by the Indian middle class were directed at the planting community. Here the economic exploitation of the Indian estate workers and their low standards of living aroused the wrathful indignation of the Indians. They were hence susceptible to socialist propaganda. The type of socialism they cherished had intrinsically little in common with the Marxist socialism. It was more of Utopian socialism which detested large scale economic enterprises and the exploitation of labour.[20] Hence S. Iyer an ardent Nationalist saw in socialism a cure for the ills of his depressed countrymen in Malaya. The apparent ambiguity in his attitudes (where he outwardly acknowledged affiliations to communism and Fascism (I.N.A.) is easily resolved by the fact that he was a nationalist first and foremost and his identification with other movements was purely to achieve his nationalist objectives. Even his flirtation with communism was for the same cause. His anti-British sentiments too were directed more at the British regime in India rather than at the British in Malaya. His activities however demonstrated an important trend in leadership—that is it marked the emergence of a young and radical leadership, prominent in the years 1937—41. He was only 38 years old in 1940.

His colleague K. B. Subbiah was a free-lance journalist and his sympathies were covertly socialist. He had previously been a Tamil school teacher on an estate in Teluk Anson and only turned

to journalism in the early 30's. His early rendezvous on the estate must have been an eye-opener for him, on the conditions of Indian labour in Malaya. His book titled "*Yuktataal Vantha Yuktam*" (Because of War, a War) exhibits a radicalism and anti-British tone that is highly surprising for those times.[21] Anti-colonialist sentiments find undisguised expression in his work while his animosity towards the planting authorities is also extreme. During the Japanese occupation he plunged into active participation in the Indian National Army and initiated a periodical the *Puthu Ulaham* (New World) to propagate the movement. After the war he appears to have forsaken completely his extremist attitudes and settled down to a comfortable Government post at the Kuala Lumpur municipality.

Another editor of the *Tamil Nesan* who later featured significantly in the uprisings on the estates in Selangor and Negri Sembilan between 1937—41, was R. H. Nathan. He emigrated to Malaya in the 1930's to join his brothers R. V. Nathan and R. R. Nathan who were active social reformers in Selangor. Their publications the *Samudaya oliyan* and *Bharata Mithran* of 1933 disseminated reformist ideology. R. H. Nathan readily appraised the Indian labour problems. His writings reveal his anti-colonialist and socialist proclivities. In the *Tamil Kody* issues of 1939—41, his articles emphasise the necessity for trade unions, the inspiration to be derived from the British labour movement, the defects in the structure of British rule in Malaya which impede the advancement of labour and the necessity hence to throw off these shackles which bind the Indian labourer to his low status.[22] His acquaintances with K. B. Subbiah and S. Aiyer could have sharpened this zeal. His residence in Klang too proved fruitful for such identifications. The Klang Indian Association was a unique middle class society which included labourers in its membership.[23] Y. K. Menon an employee in a European firm in Port Swettenham joined forces with R. H. Nathan and soon wielded considerable influence over the Tamil labourers. Nathan frequently held talks on the estates in the Klang-Port Swettenham area and aroused the labourers to demand for better wages and a more respectable treatment. The agitations he incited finally culminated in the Klang strikes of 1941. At his trial he was accused of being a communist, guilty of subverting the people to revolt against the British. The intelligence authorities added that there were

> "Good reasons for believing that he had connections with foreign organisations, the activities of which are definitely inimical to public interests in Malaya...There are reports in the possession of the Government that he urged labourers to take advantage of the critical times in order to enforce demands

> which would otherwise not be met, that he incited them to break into rice stores, to threaten violence to those holding responsible positions, to prepare for the use of violence against the police...There is also evidence that he has uttered words which show him plainly disloyal to the empire. "[24]

The possibility of communist influence motivating Nathan's activities is questionable. At his trial he denied any connections with the M.C.P. and asserted that his sole interest was in improving the conditions of the "exploited" Indian labourers. However some people believe that Nathan later joined the Communist party of India. His writings however reveal little indication of any communist sympathies. Another probable "foreign organisation" was Japanese Fascism. Japanese traders frequented Port Swettenham in these years but here again no evidence is available. What can be asserted with certainity is that Nathan was a socialist and an anti-colonialist. But he was motivated even more by Indian Nationalism. Here again it is questionable whether it was Indian Congress Nationalism as represented by Nehru and Gandhi or was the inspiration from Subhas C. Bose. Subhas C. Bose was a revered figure in the Klang district long before the Indian National Army started its operations. In the years 1938–40 we find that his birthday was elaborately celebrated in Klang and Port Swettenham. This involvement of Indian nationalism is however only as a motivating, inspiring force rather than of direct assistance. For there is no evidence of direct association with militant anti-British or anti-war groups in India. This strike itself indicated no plan of planned revolutionary violence in Malaya. It was just a result of growing self-consciousness among the labourers which was exploited by Nathan and his gang to break the exploitation of labour by the planters. These *Tamil Nesan* editors delineated three interesting trends in leadership. (1) Leadership identified with the community-grass roots connections. Essentially nationalists. (2) Young and radical-socialists. (3) English and Vernacular educated, stemmed from traditional sources (caste, religion, culture) yet held more universal loyalties.

The only other paper which was a serious contender to the *Tamil Nesan* in popularity was the *Tamil Murasu* (T.M.). The *Tamil Murasu* was started in 1932 by G. Sarangapany, a businessman in Singapore and was primarily an organ of the Tamil Reform Association of Singapore. The policy of the paper was to disseminate reform of Hindu Society in Malaya by the very same methods adopted by the Self-Respect movement in Madras. The groundwork for such journalism had already been laid with the *Seerthirutham* and

Munnetram of 1929.[25] Here publicity was granted to events which repudiated adherence to custom, as for example the weaning away from the Brahmanical tradition of initiation (upanayana) was lauded. The individuals who forsook the religious ceremonies at funerals and marriages also gained publicity in this periodical. The *Seer-thirutham* of 1931 reported extensively on the Self Respect Movement's Conference of 1931 in South India.[26] Their allegiance to E.V. R. was an acknowledged fact. The *Munnetram* too carried a similar emphasis. These periodicals were originally a product of the *Ahampadiyar Sangam, Singapore* which was devoted to the progress of their depressed caste members. The depressed status of this group was interpreted as a result of religion and tradition and hence the association sought to repudiate these shackles, and attain progress. It was this ideology that was later imbibed by the *Tamil Murasu* and the *Jothy*, both publications of the Tamil Reform Association, Singapore.[27]

The *Tamil Murasu* presented more spirit and pungency to this movement. Throughout the years 1935-41 we observe active propaganda against the bearing of kavadis, the evils of caste dominance, plea for religious reform, for social advancement through the practice of Temperance, monogamous marriage, the registration of marriage being essential and the need for Tamil unity. Their attitude towards religious ceremonies, rituals and even religious festivals, smack of anti-religious tones. This Tamil sectionalism, anti-Brahmanical notions and anti-Congress feelings, created bonds of sympathy between this group and the Tamil Muslim community. Their appeal was more to the lower middle class and this led to the predominance of the mercantile community in the financial strength of the paper. Their clamouring for a society rid of customs and tradition and their Tamil parochialism brought on a confrontation with the tradition-oriented journalism, epitomized by the *Tamil Nesan*. The *Tamil Murasu's* editorials were also critical of the English educated Indian middle class.[28] The C.I.A.M.'s overtures towards identification with the cause of the labouring masses was dismissed as an opportunistic move.

The predominant interest of journalism in this period appears to be to disseminate certain ideologies. The *T.M.* was dominated by non-brahmin editorialship, breaking the monopoly of brahmins in journalism. Their values and orientation were too limited to provide a competent stratum of leadership. Their influence was restricted to the Tamil sector of the population and even here the interest was confined to socio-cultural matters. And here too their influence was limited by the fact that they could not claim to have stemmed from

traditional sources of power and traditional institutions. Their movement was rejecting tradition and religion as imbibed from Northern Sanskrit tradition and could only appeal to depressed groups in Tamil society,—the lower caste and social groups which were susceptible to such propaganda. But their sway over the labouring groups was considerable when they combined this rejection of religion and customs with the rejection of class and economic discrimination. Trade unionism among the Indians in the post-war period revealed inspiration by the Dravidian movement. The *T.M.* journalists' pre-eminence lies largely in the field of social reform. This highlights an interesting trend here where reform of society was undertaken initially by the lower middle class–the merchants and vernacular journalists, and extended their feelers into a programme for labour upliftment. The position was quite different in India and Ceylon where it was the English educated middle class imbued with Western ideologies which showed the first signs of reformist fervour. Western Liberalism and more universal ideologies instigated the initial pressure against the abuses of traditional society. In contrast, the social reformers in Malaya subscribed to more parochial loyalties. Although the *Servants of India Society* maintained contact with individuals in Malaya, a social reform movement did not gain strength among the English educated Indian middle class, though awareness on these problems was clearly present among them.

Several other ephemeral periodicals like the *India Mithran, Malāi Nadu, Samudaya oliyan and Bharata Mithran* too exploited this issue of social reform but were devoid of the Dravidian inspiration prominent in the *T.M.* Several associations too were imbued with zeal for community progress. The *Y.M.I.A.* was particularly noteworthy and its publication the *Malāi Nadu* (Malaya) in 1931 disseminated this ideology.[29] It launched a spirited attack on low cultural standards, evils of drink and stressed the economic advancement of the workers. The impact of this paper is significant in conjunction with the proliferation of Indian societies in the Sentul area (Y.M.I.A. 1930—Self-Respect Society, 1935. Sentul Tamils Union from 1920's). But the *Toḷilali* (The Worker) which appeared in 1936 held greater economic connotations.[30] The editor R. Sreenivasan is believed to have had some shady connections with the Singapore Municipality strike of 1936 and disappeared up-country after the strikes and started as a journalist. The actual nature of the contents of this paper are not known but the title possesses interesting implications.

The Indian Muslim minority resented the Hindu domination in journalism and attempted a break-through in 1930 with the *Desa*

Nesan. Hamid Kalanjiyam was its founder but the dearth of Muslim journalists led to the recruitment of Hindus on the editorial board.[31] The contents of this daily carried a Pan-Islamic orientation. Socio-cultural affairs of the Tamil Muslim Society were heavily reported. Little of politics was manifested since the community was essentially a lower-middle class too, devoted to mercantile occupations, with little interest in local politics. Even the impact of the Muslim League on them was perceptible only from 1935. A measure of Dravidianism penetrated this paper when Swami Adbutananda served on the paper for a short period.[32] He was a lecturer from *Vadulur Samarasa Sanmarga Sangam*. A fervent devotee of R. Naicker's movement, he was reputed in Penang for being a pugnacious speaker on Dravidian Nationalism and Social Reform. He later left for Ipoh and his fellowship with Ayaroo (President of All-Malaya Dravidian Association after 1945) proved fruitful for the dissemination of this ideology in Ipoh. They ventured forth with the *Tamilan*, and soon Ipoh emerged a " hot bed " of Tamil Nationalism. But vernacular journalism generally lacked emphasis on local political issues, they were engrossed more with socio-cultural affairs.

The English language periodicals of the Indian associations—(the *Singapore Indian Association's* and *Selangor Indian Association's* weeklies) more than compensated for this deficiency. These periodicals represented the essence of contemporary Indian criticism. The Government's system of nomination of unofficial members to the Federal Council met with sharp criticism from the Selangor Indian Associations' journal, *The Indian* of 1937.[33] It also attacked the authorities' indifference towards the Indians domiciled here, the discrimination in land, employment opportunities, bar on the entry into the Malayan Civil Service, and the general prospects for permanency. The 1937 issues also carried interesting debates on the appraisal of Sastri's report on Indian labour conditions in Malaya. The criticism of the Report gained wide publicity through this paper. The paper also carried out active propaganda on the question of introduction of Prohibition, and the urgency for education among the Indian masses. The *Indian* reflected the growing mood of disillusionment and dejection perceptible among the Indian middle class from the mid 1930's. The paper was edited by R. V. Iyer, later by Jacob and Neelakanda Aiyer. Neelakanda Aiyer also wrote a book on Indian Immigration and labour in Malaya. Dissatisfied with the entire emigration machinery be declared:

> " The critic is no doubt told to marvel at the efficient organisation which collects, shepherds and transports the

motley crowd of Indian labourers and holds them on at the places of employment but it is forgotten that this mass moves about at the loss of its higher self-respect and without volition which is the very motive power for human activity and for realisation of its self-interest. "[34]

Indian Immigration should not be simply for the purpose of securing cheap labour but immigrant should be accepted as citizens with a permanent stake in the country. Instead labourers were " illiterate, backward, an inert human mass, leaderless, drifting about the country helplessly..."[35] The *Indian* of the Singapore Association and the *Indo Malayan Review* " an organ of the Kinta Indian Association and Penang Indian Association "—carried emphasis on similar problems.[36]

Journalism as an agent of literary revivalism in Malaya made a palpable impact, with the appearance of the *Tamil Kody* in early 1938 in Malacca. Its founder Arunasalam Chettiar came to Malaya in the 1920's. In 1933 he formed the Chettiar Varthaha (Merchants) Sangam. In 1936 he made the first move towards Tamil literary advancement in the country with the Tiruvalluvar library in Malacca. The *Tamil Kody* was another manifestation of this interest. It started as a monthly and was later transformed into a weekly. To nurture pride in the Tamil language and literature, this journal contained reviews on literary works like the *Silapadikaram*, *Tirukkural* and Kamban's works.[37] Panegyric poems on the beauty and eloquence of the Tamil language were popular, among the local writers. Short stories and Tamil dramas were also appreciated in these volumes. One curious inclusion is the page on " Indian labour in Malaya ", reported by labour leader R.H. Nathan. His articles were on labour and its economic amelioration, the ideals of socialism, the Labour Movement in Britain and the significance of trade unions. However, the predominantly literary character of this journal warped the impact of such writings. This awakening of interest in and ardour for the Tamil language had nationalistic inspiration as seen in the emphasis on the writings of Subramanya Bharathi. We frequently encounter in this journal, Bharati's poems on Indian Nationalism. This Nationalistic impetus to exhibit the greatness of one's tradition found clear expression in the *Tamil Kody*. This spirit of literary interest scored a success in 1941 with the inauguration of the *Tamil Pannai* with the avowed purpose of fostering Tamil language and culture. This literary movement of the pre-war years was sustained by the support of Tamil merchants, Tamil school teachers, clerical workers with literary inclinations and also by overseas writers of greater literary repute.

In estimating the role of the Indian press in Malaya, its functions of promoting the political, social and intellectual development of the community are significant. The role of the press in the adjustment of the Indian community to new ideas and values is illustrated in the growth of Indian Congress Nationalism, Dravidianism and social reform movements among the Indian population. It also was a great asset in shaping the views of the Indian intelligentsia and in the dissemination of influence in the community. Basically it was under the leadership of these journalists that Indian society started out on the road to social change and economic adjustments.[38] This was possible because of their influence with the masses and hence heralded the first strata of leadership with grass roots connections. Journalism also asserted itself as a patron of culture and literature, a particularly significant role in an immigrant society. This ensured the retention of a strong cultural identity of the Indian group and embarrassed any moves towards assimilation.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] See Appendix.

[2] S. A. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India*, New York, 1963.

[3] Quoted in *Straits Times* (*Singapore*), 25th March, 1937, p.10. (N. Parmer, *Colonial Labour Policy and Administration*, p. 64).

[4] *Malay Mail*, 30th January, 1913, p. 9. (Parmer, *ibid.*, p. 62).

[5] Reproduced in the *Indian* of 3nd April 1937.

[6] N. Parmer, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[7] *Federated Malay States* (*F.M.S.*) *Government Gazette*, 24th October 1919, p. 1361.

[8] See Sedition Bill 1938 and the Undesirable Publications Bill complementary to Official Secrets Bill of 1929. It was passed as Bill No. 23 of 1939 on 22nd August, 1939. (*F.M.S. Government Gazette*, 27th 1939, p. 3007 and *Malaya Tribune*, 20th January, 1941).

[9] *F.M.S. Government Gazette*, 28th July, 1922, p. 1321.

[10] *Ibid.*, February, 1940, p. 236 and 7th June, 1940, p. 1220.

[11] *Classified F.M.S. Official Records*, 1922. (Parmer, *op. cit.*, p. 64).

[12] For an account of the *Majlis* see W. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, 1900–41. K.L. 1967, pp. 170–174.

[13] *Majlis*, 4th January, 1932 ; a translation of this appeared in *Malay Mail*, 12th January, 1932. (Roff, *ibid.*, p. 171).

[14] *Tamil Nesan*, Editorials—5th April, 1932, 9th April, 1932, 20th April, 1932, 26th April, 1932.

[15] *Tamil Nesan*, 8th February, 1938.

[16] In 1935 the *Tamil Nesan* decided again to start an English weekly, *The Malayan Indian*, and they requested a message from the Indian Government. The latter refused. The aim of the paper was to serve as a medium for cultural contact between Indians and the Mother country. (*Indo Malayan Review*, April, 1934).

[17] *Interview* with C. V. Kuppusamy, February 1967.

[18] *Jananayagam*—Tamil language daily, 1945–1948, subsidized by the Malayan Communist Party (M.C.P.).

[19] *M.T.*, 19th June, 1941.

[20] Subramaniam Iyer's Socialism also had something in common with that of Congress Left Wing, particularly that of Nehru's. Nehru was convinced that "the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in Socialism and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. . . . I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, *the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian states system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service.*" DE BARY, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, p. 900–901.

[21] K. B. Subbiah, *Yuktataal Vantka Yuktam*—(Because of War, a War), Kuala Lumpur, 1946.

[22] *Tamil Kody*, December, 1939, p. 51–52, February, 1940, p. 84. "Someone labours, someone else benefits, worker suffers, idle person exercises authority. worker starves, suffers externally, Master flourishes. Times need change, employer transform into worker. Worker needs to reap the fruits of his own labour". R. H. Nathan—*Tamil Kody*, December, 1939, p. 51.

[23] *Malayan Tribune*, 25th March, 1940.

[24] *Malayan Tribune*, 26th May, 1941.

[25] *Munnetram* (Progress) and *Seerthirutham* (Reform), 1929–34, weekly every Thursday.

[26] *Seerthirutham* (Reform)—8th June, 1931. *Munnetram* of 18th June, 1931.

[27] *Tamil Murasu*, 25th December, 1937.

[28] *Tamil Murasu*, Editorials of 5th September, 1938 and 13th January, 1939.

[29] Palanivellupillay—*Interview*, 6th June, 1966.

[30] C. V. Kuppusamy—*Interview*, 1967.

[31] Muthupalaniappa Chettiar—*Malayavin Thottam* (*Happy Malaya*), 1935, Penang, p. 110.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Selangor Indian Association's *Indian*, 1937. (It was started in 1932 and ended in 1940, the Singapore Indian Association's *Indian* began in 1924 and ended in late 1930's).

[34] K. A. Neelakanda Iyer—*Indian Problems in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, 1938, p. 15.

[35] K. A. Neelakanda Iyer—*Indian Problems in Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur, 1938, p. 15.

[36] *Indo-Malayan Review* was published for 3 years from 1933—early 1936. It was first started by the Kinta Indian Association, and later was amalgamated with the journal of the Penang Indian Association. The editors were S. N. Sammy and R. V. Iyer. The April, 1934 issue carried an article on the "Indian Agency: Its scope and powers". The dominant view was that until the status of the permanently domiciled Indians is recognised officially, they must look to the Agency for protection (*Malayan Tribune*, 6th May, 1934).

[37] *Tamil Kody*, December, 1938—February, 1940. Published in Malacca.

[38] The Tamil Journalist's role and his growing prestige is also similar to the role of journalists in countries like Indonesia and Ghana. See the *New Elite in Asia and Africa, a comparative study of Indonesia and Ghana*, by Tom Kerstiens. Praeger Special studies in International Economics and Development, 1966, New York, p. 149.

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India Mithran (Ipoh), *Bharata Mithran* (Ipoh), *Samudaya Oliyan* (Kuala Lumpur), *Malai Nadu* (Kuala Lumpur), *Tamil Chelvan* (Kuala Lumpur), Newspapers of short duration.

Jothy (Penang), *Bala Bharatam*, *Phoenix* (Tamil and English), *Kali Yugam* (Perak), *Udaya Suriyan* (Perak), *Puthu Ulaham* (Ipoh), *Muyarachi* (Ipoh), *Inamani* (Ipoh), *Tolilali* (Kuala Lumpur), *Bothu Jana Pathukaval* (Kuala Lumpur), *Nava Yugam*, *Munnani*, *Seerthirutham* (Singapore), *Bharata Nesan* (Singapore), *Tamil Mani* (Singapore), *Puthu Yugam* (Singapore).

For an account of Malayan Chinese newspapers see Chen Mong Hock's *Early Chinese Newspapers of Singapore, 1881–1912*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1967.

APPENDIX

1921—*Literacy among Indians*

	Singapore	Penang	Malacca	Ipoh	Klang	Kuala Lumpur	Seremban	Taiping	Johore Bahru
Total Literate persons	9,133	6,319	548	3,688	1,124	9,761	1,386	3,030	1,027
Total illiterate persons	18,477	12,992	1,348	3,807	2,119	10,689	1,672	2,431	1,633

1931—*Literacy among Indians*

	Straits Settlements	Federated Malay States	Johore	Kedah	Kelantan	Trengganu
Literates	49,789	92,974	13,057	9,962	1,817	638
Illiterates	82,488	2,87,022	37,981	40,862	4,935	733

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Part II

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Translation of Tolkāppiyam

A Project of Prof. KAMIL ZVELEBIL

I. The goal of this project is

1. to produce a complete critical translation of the entire text and the seven commentaries of the standard classical Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam* (3rd-1st Cent. B.C.);

2. to produce a modern super-commentary prepared by the translator, dealing with the text from the point of view of modern linguistic theories;

3. the evaluation of the text and its commentaries for the development of teaching materials of one of the highly critical languages of South Asia, Tamil.

Thus there are three basic problems to be faced :

(*a*) the problem of the translation of a highly technical, linguistically and culturally relevant, ancient Tamil text and the seven medieval commentaries on it;

(*b*) the problem of a critical analysis and evaluation of the conceptual framework and linguistic, prosodic, rhetoric, psychological and social theories, held by the original author (and the 7 commentators) from the point of view of contemporary linguistic thinking; and preparing a modern linguistic hyper-commentary;

(*c*) the problem of the relation and relevance of this basic ancient text to the questions of understanding and teaching the modern language.

There can be no doubt that the project is of utmost importance and significance. The greatest expert on Dravidian languages, Prof. M. B. Emeneau, writes in a letter of October 2 to the proposer : "The need of an English translation of Tolkappiyam and its commentaries, and of a linguistic commentary is obvious. Our debt to you would be very great if you achieved it...(it would have) a background value for all work on modern Tamil. "

As far as the relevance of the problem to the specific goals is concerned : first, as Prof. Emeneau says, the critical study of *Tolkāppiyam* has a background value for all work on modern Tamil, including naturally the questions of teaching the language, the

development of specialized teaching materials, etc. It can be maintained that an up-to-date translation of this classical work is essentially needed for teaching Tamil, both classical and modern, at all levels. More than that : it is also essentially needed for teaching Dravidian structural and comparative linguistics, as the text in question is the first, most ancient, and very thorough and detailed, description of any Dravidian language, in terms of indigenous grammatical thought. Further : since the conceptual and theoretical framework of *Tolkāppiyam* is different and to a great extent independent of all other indigenous, classical schools of Indian linguistics (including Pāṇini), a critical English translation of this work would substantially contribute to general linguistic theories and would add a highly interesting chapter to the history of linguistics; hence, the translation of *Tolkāppiyam* is also pertinent to teaching general linguistics. And, since *Tolkāppiyam* in its third part (*Poruḷatikāram*) contains important chapters on prosody, rhetorics, and a wealth of sociological and general cultural material, its translation is essentially needed for teaching the cultural and social history of South India.

Thus it is clear that, apart from its intrinsic value as a modern scholarly translation into English of one of the great books of South Asian civilization, the project is highly relevant for, and would be an important contribution to, the *teaching* of ancient and modern Tamil, the teaching of Dravidian linguistics, the teaching of general linguistics, and the teaching of the cultural and social history of India.

II. *Tolkāppiyam*, lit. 'The Ancient Book', is a text of highly technical 1612 *sūtras* (stanzas) of unequal length, divided into three books, each of them containing 9 chapters. It is ascribed to one author of unknown name (called after the book *Tolkāppiyam*), and the date usually given is 3rd—1st Cent. B.C. The first book, called *Eḻuttatikāram*, lit. 'The Part of Letters', deals with the orthography, graphemics, phonetics and phonemics of Old Tamil. The second book, entitled *Collatikāram*, lit 'The Part of Words', deals with the morphology, syntax, semantics and etymology of the language). The third book, *Poruḷatikāram*, lit. 'The Part of Matter', contains prosody and rhetorics of Old Tamil (its study being highly pertinent to the understanding of classical Tamil literature), and much material of psychological, ethnographic, anthropological and sociological interest. In short, the whole gamut of pre-Aryan Tamil (Dravidian) culture and civilization is in some way contained in the 'grammar'. Thus its place within the history of pre-Aryan culture and civilization of India is more important than the place of Pāṇini's classical Sanskrit grammar in the Sanskritic culture of India. In the develop-

ment of Indian linguistic thought, *Tolkāppiyam* (since it embodies pre-Pāṇinian or extra-Pāṇinian tradition) is as important as the grammar of Pāṇini.

Further, since it is a descriptive and normative grammar of high excellence of the classical literary language, it is of immense importance for the study and teaching of Standard Literary Tamil. It must be stressed that the grammar has retained its absolute and unquestionable authority in the indigenous linguistic tradition to the present day. Also, the system of language it describes, underlies the grammatical system of standard Literary Tamil to a great extent.

Finally, it is extremely interesting and important for general linguistics, which has so far been completely ignorant of this independent and highly sophisticated Indian linguistic tradition, precisely because no good translation has been available.

There are seven medieval commentaries (partly fragmentary) on the grammar, which serve as a document of the evolution of indigenous Tamil linguistic and aesthetic thinking between the 10th-16th Cent. A.D. The commentaries, too, contain a wealth of sociological and cultural material.

The objectives of the project are :

(1) To produce a complete, critical and modern translation of the underlying text.

(2) To produce a complete, critical and modern translation of the 7 commentaries.

(3) To add a modern commentary in terms of contemporary linguistic thought, as developed by recent European and American linguistics.

(4) To answer a number of questions and to test a number of hypotheses arising in connection with the grammar and its commentaries :

(*a*) to investigate the date of the composition of the underlying text and the commentaries;

(*b*) to investigate the problem of the integrity of the underlying text and to test the hypothesis that there are later interpolations in and additions to the text;

(*c*) to test the hypothesis that the 3rd book (*Porulatikāram*) is several centuries later than the first two books:

(*d*) to test the generative power of *Tolkāppiyam's* rules;

(*e*) to show how the study of *Tolkāppiyam's* linguistic thought can contribute to general linguistic theories and methods;

(*f*) to show the validity and usefulness of the study of *Tolkāppiyam* and its commentaries for teaching of modern Tamil.

III. Indigenous Tamil grammatical traditions have so far been studied only by indigenous Tamil pandits along the traditional lines outlined in the commentaries, precisely because no equivalent, precise, complete and modern translation of the work and/or the commentaries into English (or any Western language) is available. The proposer has been engaged in the study of the grammar since 1958 in India, at the Oriental Institute and Charles' University in Prague, and at the University of Chicago. He has studied the text and the commentaries with traditional Tamil pandits, and he has given it much thought as a modern linguist, trained in contemporary European and American linguistic theories and methods. He has published a long number (about 45) of research papers dealing with problems of historical, comparative, structural, dialectological and sociolinguistic investigation of Tamil and Dravidian, and a book on *Comparative Dravidian Phonology* (Mouton, 1969, 205 pp.). In all these works, references may be found to the *Tolkāppiyam*.

So far, two incomplete and entirely unsatisfactory translations of the text (without the commentaries) into English have been published, both by traditionally oriented Indian (Tamil) scholars.

(1) The first two books of the grammar were translated and published by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri (1930, 1945), but the translation is inexact and unsatisfactory, and the 'short commentary in English' is quite unsophisticated, very traditional, and with a strong pro-Sanskritic bias[1]).

(2) The third book of the grammar was translated and published by Varadaraja Iyer (1948), and is even less satisfactory than the previous translations. This translation was criticized even by Tamil scholars themselves (vide A. C. Chettiar's Foreword: "...he has erred on the side of digressions here and there...The work might have been planned better...", etc.). It is quite inexact, in many places incorrect, unrealiable and strongly biased[2]. Neither Subrahmanya Sastri nor Varadaraja Iyer were properly trained

linguists; their orientation was fully traditional and their bias highly pro-Sanskritic.

The proposer plans to translate according to the edition published with meticulous care by A. Arulappan and V. I. Subramoniam, who is an American-trained linguist and Professor at the University of Kerala, Trivandrum. The work was published in Palamcottah-Tirunelveli, 1st ed., in 1963.

IV. Procedures to be followed are relatively simple.

(*a*) Since the edition which will be used for the translation-work, contains simultaneously the underlying text and the commentaries (in a vaguely historical succession), the translation will proceed step by step from one *sūtra* to another including a simultaneous translation of all the commentaries.

(*b*) Since the pertinent edition is an approximation to a critical edition (in the accepted sense of the term), it may be necessary, for the purposes of collation and emendation, to take short trips to a few European libraries containing the manuscripts and some earlier editions of the text and the commentaries (London, Oxford, Paris, Leiden, Lisbon, The Vatican).

(*c*) The translation will contain a complete index of Tamil technical terms; and a complete index of pertinent Western linguistic and other technical terms. It will also include a concordance.

(*d*) After the translation is completed, objectives Nos. 4 a, b, c, d, e, f will be dealt with. The results of these investigations will be published in the Introduction, which will form an integrated description of the results reached. While Nos. 4 a, b and c will be fully included into the Introduction, Nos. 4 d, e and f will probably also result in independent, separate papers and studies dealing with:

1. the generative power of 'Tolkāppiam's rule;

2. the contribution of traditional Tamil linguistic thought to the modern and contemporary linguistic theories and methods;

3. the pertinence and usefulness of the study of *Tolkāppiyam* and its commentaries for the teaching of modern Tamil;

4. the evolution of Tamil linguistic thinking, as reflected in the text and its commentaries.

(*e*) the translation will begin with the work on the second book (*Collatikāram*) of the grammar, which is the shortest part, containing 463 rules, and which was published as the first portion by Arulappan and Subramoniam.

(*f*) The beginning date of the work will be January 1, 1970.

(*g*) Personnel :

Principal investigator : Dr Kamil V. Zvelebil, Professor, Dept. of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, and Dept. of Linguistics, University of Chicago. Assistant : Mrs. Kokilam Subbiah, Teaching Assistant of Tamil, University of Chicago.

(*h*) The final product :

(1) Translation of the text and the commentaries+modern linguistic commentary+Introduction+Indices+Concordance, in 3 volumes.

(2) Possibly three monograph research papers, dealing with objectives 4 d, e, f.

[1] *Tolkāppiyam*, with a short commentary in English by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Vol. I. *Eḻuttatikāram* (Madras Oriental Series, No. 3), Madras, 1930.

Tolkāppiyam—Collatikāram, with an English commentary by P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri (Annamalai University Tamil Series No. 9), Annamalainagar, 1945.

[2] *Tolkāppiam—Poruḷatikāram*, translated into English by E. S. Varadaraja Iyer, Annamalainagar, 1948.

The Printing Press—An Agent of Strength

KATHERINE SMITH DIEHL

In conversation with the librarian of National Library of Calcutta in January 1969, I estimated that at least 25,000 separate items had been printed east of the Indus River not later than December 31, 1850. They would vary from broadsides, small pamphlets, little books: to full-size books in one or several volumes: would include newspapers, journals, maps and plans: and government reports of all varieties. Examples of each and every edition would, quite naturally, be included in the count. The printing would be in any language that happened, in any alphabets utilised: and the works would have been produced according to the European style of movable types or lithography.

Our discussion was to learn the stage to which my searches had come : my hunt in South Asia for extant copies of these early Asian-printed books and papers, and my estimate of what could be found.

During fifteen months in 1961-62, at a single institution, 1,200 items were found. The place is Carey Library of Serampore College, at Serampore Town in West Bengal. The catalogue has been published as *Early Indian Imprints* (New York and London, 1964).

From September 1967 to September 1970, the search was broadened to include all India: and 2,400 entirely different books were added. I know of at least one hundred fifty more. For want of time I could not make the records. All are in Persian, Arabic, Urdu: and are to be seen at a single library in northern India.

Since mid-September 1970 in Colombo, the Ceylon search has yielded another three hundred fifty items. Of these, less than a handful are in Tamil, for most of the publications in that language will be found in the northern part of the Island. Quite a few books have been identified to help fill series or sets which were—and are—incomplete in each country. Only a few duplicate what had been seen in India, but where the duplication does occur I am trying to make note of the fact. Part of my objective is the preparation of a

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By Katharine Smith Diehl, most recently a Fellow at the University of Chicago and Senior Fellow of the American Institute of Indian Studies as a librarian interested in historical bibliography, and is compiling a preliminary bibliography of Imprints before 1850 now available in South Asian Libraries.

bibliography in which library ownership of the book is indicated and it has been suggested that a representative library in each country be noticed when books are found. For example, Dr. Robert Wight's long series of botanical illustrations, which he entitled *Icones*, is found with black and white plates both at the Botanical Gardens Library in Lucknow and the Royal Asiatic Society Library in Colombo. Both will be cited. Too bad the Colombo set has not the coloured plates: they may be seen at Goethals Indian Library. St. Xavier's College, Calcutta.

The total, then approaches 4,000 imprints. My goal has been 5,000. That may be optimistic; though perhaps not, for my actual registration of books in the Dacca libraries has not begun—however well I know their facilities. Little seems to be in Lahore, for Lahore —as Delhi—did not become a major literary centre in the modern sense until my deadline date of 1850 has passed. No city which happened to be outside the Asian printing community has been able to acquire a well-stocked and representative library of early Indian-printed books except such places as Uttarpara, Bankipore (Patna), and Rampur State, whose institutions had aristocratic collectors.

The interesting, frustrating and rewarding aspect of this work is the element of constant surprise. Wherever I go, in whatever library or shelf of old books I look, what is found is new to the list already accumulated.

Little duplication of book holdings is evident within the old libraries of India, Ceylon, and Pakistan—taken separately, and taken collectively. Early printed editions were small: I know of one edition of eleven copies. It was less expensive to compose the types *once* than to pay copyists individually. Publishers sent copies to individuals registered to receive them; raised a loud noise when the subscribers failed to pay their just debts; and in most instances the books became well-read, marked, and inwardly digested. Many copies have long since died their natural deaths. To find in Colombo an incomplete (but clean) copy of Halhed's *Grammar of the Bengal Language* (Hooghly in Bengal, 1778) is like finding in Bangalore a collection of Auxiliary Tract Society publications printed at Manepy: finding in Bombay several school reports printed in Singapore is similar to my fortunate discovery in Goa of a complete copy of Fr. Beschi's *Grammatica latino-tamulica* (Tranquebar, 1739). Several of P.P. Roorda van Eijsinga's Batavia-printed books located in Madras are as far from their natural home as these two early Colombo Sinhala prints: the 1739 *Gospels* is at Carey Library, and the 1748

Gospels and Acts was seen in Madras but has most probably been transferred (along with a large number of 18th century Tranquebar publications) to Bangalore's United Theological College Archives. No longer is there theological teaching at Tranquebar, all facilities have been removed to Madurai (early 1969).

Searching such as I've been doing since 1959 requires looking, hard looking and dusty looking, at shelves rarely investigated by readers intent on new knowledge. But I've not changed my mind about a 25,000 total estimate: nor in my belief that 10,000 should still be available in South Asia. One person, and this one an alien competent in western languages and slightly competent only in Bengali without Sanskrit as foundation, cannot possibly find each volume; but one person can make quite a large beginning. Certainly I believe that the books which I've been able to identify positively are sufficient to prepare the beginnings of an historical summary of the literary, technological, biographical record involved in book production under the aegis of one or other of the East India Companies. The 1850 deadline gives my study a very international flavour which it must have because most of the machinery had been very specially imported for use by Company, State, Church—sometimes jointly, other times independently.

Concerning printing in the South (Tamilnad, Kerala, Ceylon) there is a unique aspect. Each of these regions had known printing presses and printed books locally made at various times within the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. The press was not an unknown device though, due to certain religious-political complications, there was less printing than one would have expected. Press restrictions are certainly not peculiar to Asia, all parts of the world have enjoyed them, even to the present day. But in none of these three places have I been able to find anything which was assuredly written, printed, published at/by an establishment entirely locally owned and operated before the year 1800. Government presses and religious presses were operated largely by local personnel, but as physical property they were owned and administered by aliens.

Before 1850 there is nothing yet on my list which I can firmly say was written, edited, and completely printed by Ceylon nationals. *Young Ceylon* comes closest to being satisfactory, but I'm not at all convinced that Examiner Press was a completely local operation. What is now known as Kerala had nothing at all except mission printing before 1850—and even the mission presses were late in arriving. The Catholic early-period does not satisfy my

strictures, for those missionary operations were not spontaneous to the community.

We are left with Madras State, now known as Tamilnad.

Traces of two French-language serials printed in Pondicherry exist, but no copies of the papers themselves. Printer is not known, though I've a strong suspicion that he was a local man—perhaps using the Government Press during non-working hours. Certainly both journals were privately printed: *Soliel Indien* (in 1838 or 1839), and *Courier de Pondicherry* (11th January to 15th February 1839). At this time the Government Press in Pondicherry was active; the reading public interested in a weekly paper was small; the Mission Press had not yet begun (that was 1841), and the little boys and girls of mixed parentage were known as "children with hats"—which all of them now wear if they can afford the cost.

A Tanjore experiment was brief and elegant. It is the story of a Royal Press, established (certainly) at the instance of the East India Company in the old Tanjore Palace Fort. Serfoji Maharaj of Tanjore called his Press "Nava Vidya Kala Midhi" and from it, between 1806 and 1817, at least eight books appeared—one of them by the Maharaj himself A single copy of the earliest volume is known—to be in London! The others may be seen at Saraswati Mahal Library, in the same rooms which Serfoji must have frequented as child, as student with his German teacher, Professor Swartz, and as an adult. By brief title the books are :

1806. Marathi. *Aesop's Fables*, tr. by Subjaji Shesho.

*(Undated, 1806-7?) Sanskrit. Visvanatha Pañcānana's *Muktāvali*; the *Tarka Sāstra*.

1807. Sanskrit. Kalidāsa's *Raghu Vamsa*.

*1809. Marathi. Yekenatha's *Ramayana* the *Yuddha-kanda*.

*1811. Sanskrit. *Annambhatti*, or *Tarka Sangraha*.

1812. Sanskrit. Magha's *Sisupalavadha*.

1814. Sanskrit. Serfoji Bhonsle II's *Kumāra Sambhava Campu*.

*1817. Sanskrit. Visvanatha Pañcānana's *Karikavalī*.

The starred (*) titles have either rubrics or illumination, something which I had not found from the great publishing centre of Calcutta until much later. Notes with me do not indicate which

books weie prepared for binding in western style, and which were arranged in the old *ola* manuscript manner, to have wooden board at top and bottom and to be bound with thread or tape. The 1809 *Ramayana* by Yekenath is the only volume which has been seen elsewhere as well as at Tanjore. A copy is in the Rare Book Room of National Library, Calcutta. Immediately upon opening the cloth wrapper I said, "A Tanjore book!" The number of leaves (469), its fine typography (perhaps Wilkins' types), and its several illuminations left no doubt at all. Except for Maharaj Serfoji's own book, printed under the direction of Sarakhan, all printing was under the care of Kuppa Bhatta.

Scholars are constantly at woik in this old Saraswati Mahal which is comfortable during the hottest days of the Tanjore year. Their publications appear from time to time in the locally published journal. For one book, *Tarka Sastra* (1806-7?), the scholars have a real struggle. Only a few odd leaves are to be found, some of them varient printings after being proof corrected: no complete book is known; nor is it known whether the printing was ever completed.

By contrast the Madras story is earthy and exciting. Maharaja Serfoji had security, though Tanjore politics had changed; he had a fine western classical education, and financial stability while playing with his new printing toy. In Madras the men who opened their presses seem to have been tantalised by the printing techniques and products which the College Press (College of Fort St. George) was achieving. From it they must have received experience, found ideas for their own use, and perhaps even some pieces of equipment useful when erecting their presses.

Madras Hindus seem not to have had reservations about the use of printing ink, whereas orthodox Bombay Brahmans rejected ink and used lithography until at least *ca.* 1840. Of the near-300 Madras-printed books in my list, approximately fifteen per cent are very local productions, all type-printed. Presses mentioned are given, with the date of the earliest book noticed:

1819 Iyatramizh Vilakka Press, owned by K. Thiruvenkata Mudaliyar.

182? Swakiya Mudraksha Rasha Alayam, owner not known.

1830 Ravana Press, owner not known.

1834 Saraswati Press, owned by K. Thiruvenkatachala Mudaliyar (cf. 1819).

1834 Kalvi Vilakka Press, owner not known.

1839 Educational Press, owned by the half-brothers Visakapperumalaiyar and Saravanapperumalaiyar: located at Kosepet, now in Madras City.

1844 Desabhimani Press, owner not known.

1844 Dravida Dheepikai Press, owner not known.

1844 Vaneevelasa Literary Press, owned by Cotah Basheam Chetty.

1847 Jeevarakshmirdha Press, owner not known.

1849 Muththamizh Poksha Press, perhaps owned by Muthiswami Mudaliyar.

1849 Saraswathi Vilasa Press, owned by Annamalai Mudaliyar.

1850 Indhu (Hindu) Press, owner not known.

1850 Srinigasavamba Sasthira Dheepigai Press, owner not known.

This list of fourteen type-printing establishments in Madras compares very favourably with the number of lithographic establishments in Lucknow during the same period. Thiruvankatachala Mudaliyar's Saraswati Press was by far the most active : by my records it printed twelve books, chiefly religious—but not necessarily classical texts. Its owner was Tamil Pundit of the Madras Education Society, a local organisation for the Tamil-speaking population, and not to be confused with the English College of Fort St. George. Between 1839 and 1846, the Educational Press at Kosepet published four books, one of which was astronomy, and one a vocabulary. The first volume of the *Madras Code (1802)* translated into Tamil by Ranganaicooloo Chettiar, was published by Cotah Basheam Chetty's Press in 1844.

Murray's *Grammar*, Lord Brougham's various scientific works, Mrs. Sherwood's *The Ayah and The Lady*, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*—to mention but a few—had found their way from English into numerous languages of South Asia; whereas the Mylapore Temple poem, *Thirumayilai Venbamalei*, by T. Narayana-Swami Mudaliyar had never been printed at all until its appearance in 1849 when it was printed at Annamalai Mudaliyar's Saraswathi Vilasa Press *by* T. S. Veeraswamy Mudaliyar who may have paid for the publishing (i.e. the patron and not the press man).

Yet another Tamil book from a press already mentioned is P. Naynappa Mudaliyar's edition of the *Thanjaivanan Kovai*, written by Poyyamozhippulavar. Published by Thiru-Venkatachala Mudaliyar's Saraswati Press, it deserves special notice because of its very evident local-colour subject.

These are but a few—certainly just a small fraction—of what might still be available of the books belonging to the first half of the 19th century, Madras-printed by Indians at their own presses, and from locally important texts. Surely it is just a portion of the Tamil language printed books circulating in Madras, produced by their own labour force about one hundred twenty-five years ago. They represent the same kind of literary awakening evident among the Muslim communities of Calcutta, Lucknow and their environs. Similar things were happening in Surat and Bombay among the Parsis: and at Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj exemplified it at a single dwelling place.

Meanwhile the Calcutta Hindus were swinging strongly towards westernisation and modernisation; whereas the Madras Hindus were putting their old and new texts into permanent form. The Parsis were trying to stabilise their calendar for liturgical purposes, and were putting their traditional texts into print for the first time under the dynamic leadership of Mulla Firuz ibn Kawaz. The Muslims in both cities, Calcutta and Lucknow, were frantically at work editing and printing their Islamic Law, their exegetical works, the *Quran* in diglot editions, and Quranic reference sources such as Mustafa ibn Sayeed's *Nujum al-Furqan*. This is a concordance, first printed at Calcutta, though the place is not named, in 1811; and by lithography at Lucknow about 1842. Added to the classically serious matter, was the refreshing rush into print (lithography) by the world of poets whose spiritual home was Lucknow. Dozens of them? No, several hundred!

These were people utilising modern technology to conserve what was dear to them, that which had long given their community its individuality. For several generations atleast they were able to conserve a variety of daily life distinctive among the world's peoples.

The printing press is an amalgamating and a diffusing device. It can weld people into a closer community—or can help them retain their identity as a community; and it can diffuse matter universally and to all persons alike, making for an international community with little personality—a conglomerate and homogeneous race. The few illustrations selected represent the printing press as an agent of strength to people's wish for identity.

Bibliography of Overseas Indians

[FROM :
DAVID HOWARD DAY, graduate student, Department of Anthropology Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, 13210, *U.S.A.*]

Background : Scholarly interest in overseas Indians has traditionally been limited to predominantly French and British researches into the historical expansion of Indians from the subcontinent. Such 'Greater India' queries have been largely archæological or epigraphical and were developed round the examination of manuscripts and lithic inscriptions abundant in Southeast Asia.

Centers of Indian or Sanskrit studies, and 'Indology' grew in the last half-century in the Netherlands, Poland, Roumania, France and Germany and generated innumerable articles and monographs on Indo-European linguistics and reflected, perhaps more than anything else, European concern with linguistic analysis and the minutiae of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. The journal of the influential Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient and the short-lived *Journal of the Greater India Society* document well the central role of European scholars in piecing together the Indian heritage of countries neighbouring India.

Archæological discoveries, particularly in the Indus Valley and along the mainland shores of the Arabian Sea, together with an appreciation of the early navigational accounts such as the *Periplus of the Brythraean Sea* meanwhile strengthened an awareness that Indian contact with other lands is far older than most scholars would have imagined.

Materials contributing to a more ethnographic view of overseas Indians proliferated with the expansion of both British and French colonization. The transhipment from the subcontinent of Indians to colonial territories and ensuing emigrations has resulted in masses of colonial government documents and much more recent social science monographs. Perusal of the recently released Indexes to General Correspondence of the Great Britain Foreign Office reveals, for example, the presence of clusters of Indian labourers in Iraq, the conditions of Indian labour in Reunion, Madagascar and Mocambique, and the illegal entry of Indians into the United States from Mexico in the 1920's.

Various political developments in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, especially within the last twenty years, have focused attention on the status of Indian minorities in these areas. Beyond such recent contributions to the study of overseas Indians as those by Schwartz, Mangat and Gillion, and by Bharati and Arasaratnam (in press), the affairs of Indians outside India have now assumed primacy in India itself. While the attitude of the Government of India on the position of oversees Indians is nowhere definitive, a number of Indian political parties have made their stands explicit. Where Indians constitute, sizeable minorities, in South Africa and Malaysia for example, institutes for the study of overseas Indians have enlisted the co-operation of both Indian and indigenous scholars. The South African Institute of Race Relations and the Department of Indian Studies at the University of Malaya are exemplary organizations.

DESCRIPTION OF BIBLIOGRAPY :

In contrast to the overseas Chinese, little bibliographical research has been done on overseas Indian communities. It is our opinion that there exists an urgent need to classify and, where possible, annotate source materials available to professionals and students, but which lie scattered in various national archives or regional depositories. While primary focus of the *Bibliography* is on Southeast Asia, with a time-depth to 1850, Western and Asian language titles relevant for a world-wide survey are also being collected.

Because it is the aim of this *Bibliography* to include types of materials never before assembled round this topic, the selection criteria are quite broad. Articles, monographs, theses, dissertations and several categories of government documents are being included. Those categories contain material on the diffusion of Indian culture throughout Southeast Asia (including Ceylon), periods of ancient Indian 'colonization' and recent emigration–immigration and indenture. Pertinent titles from all disciplines are thereby not excluded. Newspaper items, however, will be omitted. Archæological and epigraphical references will be included only when related directly to a reconstruction of historic processes and events contingent upon the Indian presence overseas.

Special features of the *Bibliography* will be a section on materials on overseas Indians in non-Western languages, and complete listings of the general correspondence of the Foreign Office and papers of the Colonial Office.

To date there are an estimated 2,500 titles in the *Bibliography*, with the following country or regional breakdown: Country or regional breakdown with approximate number of titles collected to date:

Southeast Asia:

Burma	100
Thailand	60
Cambodia	60
Laos	60
Vietnam	50
Malaysia	800
Indonesia	400
Philippines	100

South Asia:

Ceylon	200
Nepal	..
Pakistan	..

Far East:

Korea	10
China	25
Japan	25

Central Asia Middle East:

Soviet Union	20
Afghanistan	20
Iran	5
Iraq	25
Dubai	2

North America:

Canada	50
United States	300

South America:

Guatemala	10
Mexico	10
Panama	10
Guyana	..
Surinam	..

Carribbean:

Trinidad	..
Guadaloupe	5

Africa:

Eastern:

Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Somalia, Ethiopia	100

Central:

Belgian Congo	5

Southern:

Rhodesia, Zambia, Malawi, R. of S. Africa, Mocambique	100

Indian Ocean:

Madagascar, Mauritius, Reunion	25

Europe:

France, Britain, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Malta	(unestimated)

Pacific:

Fiji, Samoa, New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand	(unestimated)

Within geographical area titles will be classified under the following subject headings: art, archæology, education, ethnic groups, economics, health and diet, plantation and settlement,

emigration–immigration, general history, festivals, religion, multi-racialism, labour, politics, linguistics, literature, mythology, law and general sources. Sub-categories will be added where necessary.

A bibliography becomes most useful when it is as complete as possible within its defined topical scope and time-depth. Annotated bibliographical entries naturally increase utility. Because this *Bibliography* is ancillary to work toward a doctoral dissertation in Southeast Asia, only titles pertaining to Indians in that region are being annotated at this time.

Faculty or others interested in this or similar projects are encouraged to provide me with their comments. Advice or criticism is most welcome.

DAVID HOWARD DAY

Department of Anthropology Syracuse University

News and Notes

THE MUSLIMS OF TAMIL NAD

Mr. K. I. McPherson of the Asia Centre of the University of Western Australia has received the Master of Arts degree for his thesis on "The Tamil— and Urdu-Speaking Muslims of the Madras Presidency, 1901-1937". Mr. McPherson is currently carrying out research in India and Pakistan for his Ph.D. thesis on Bengali Muslim history at the Australian National University, and his article, "The Social Background and Politics of the Muslims of Tamil Nad, 1901-1937", appeared in the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. VI no. 4 (December, 1969).

Research: The Cauvery Delta Project

THE ASIA CENTRE. UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

Two further members of the Centre hope to be able to join the interdisciplinary research project on the Cauvery Delta drawn up by Professor M. J. Webb, Dı W. T. Frank and the Director.

Dr. R. N. Ghosh, in Economics, wishes to investigate the suitability of preparing a long-term productivity index for the Cauvery region for the period under study. The aim is to relate the index to movements in economic variables such as land use, the labour force and capital investment, to produce an empirical "production function". It is then expected that Dr Ghosh could play a coordinating role in relation to the project as a whole, assessing the impact of economic change on the aggregate of social and economic relationships in the region. He expects to be in a position to embark on research in Delta in 1971.

Dr. R. L. Rooksby, in Anthropology, is engaged on work in Kerala, which borders on Tamilnad where the Cauvery Delta is located, and he expects that some of the problems which concern him there would be relevant to the Cauvery project. His work in the Delta would probably involve a stay in a selected village settlement in order to examine the patterns of stratification and to relate them to broader patterns of change.

Dr. Rooksby and Dr. Owen, as well as Dr. Ghosh, expect to be in India at the end of 1971 and early in 1972, which would enable them to compare findings and methods and work together in the field.

VEDDAHS AND AUSTRALOIDS

Australian scientists have uncovered further evidence that Australia's Aborigines may have had their origins on the Indian sub-continent.

A four-year survey among Aborigines in remote Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory has revealed work habits and dexterity patterns of traditional craftsmen which fit closely those of certain tribal groups in Ceylon and southern India, including the Sinhalese and descendants of the Veddahs in Ceylon.

The discovery is the latest in a recent series of finds which have supported a number of theories as the origin of Australia's Aborigines.

" Our studies showed outstanding similarities between peoples who are still in a fairly primitive state, " said Professor Leslie M. Haynes, head of the University of New South Wales' Industrial Arts Department.

As a pioneer in the new field of ethno-technology in Australia and Asia, Professor Haynes has been engaged on research projects in both Australia and Ceylon since 1966.

As an ethno-technologist, his studies are confined to the skill patterns, materials and objects produced by people, whether they are in an industrialised community, or in primitive surrounds.

In the case of more primitive people, who still use centuries-old techniques to fashion raw materials into objects, the research of an ethno-technologist can provide an additional insight into cultures known to have changed little over periods of thousands of years.

The most commonly held theory is that Aborigines (classified Australoid, as distinct from Caucasoid, Negroid or Mongoloid) moved south onto the continent of Australia as we know it today about 18,000 years ago during the last Ice Age. Isolated groups including aboriginal hill tribes in southern India, the Veddahs in Ceylon and the Sakai of Malaysia have been likened to the Australian Aboriginal.

However, with far from conclusive evidence before them, scientists are continually putting forward new theories on the origin of the Aboriginal as new finds and discoveries are made.

UNIQUE FIND AT PADAVIYA TANK

WINDSOR

Ceylon Observer—28-12-1970

" *Sri Pathi Grama* " (abode of the God Ishwara or Maheswara) is the original name of Padaviya (Ceylon). A royal edict to this effect has been discovered during restoiation work undertaken by the Archæological Department at the Siva Devale below the bund of the Padaviya Tank.

Dr. Rajah de Silva, Archæological Commissioner said that the edict in the form of a seal was found in a neatly packed treasure trove with 57 other items.

The " seal " is considered to be a unique find by Dr. Rajah de Silva. For, this is the first time the Archæological Department had been able to obtain one intact.

The seal is circular. It is about 2 inches diagonally. On it are inscribed a Bullock squatting on a lotus, flanked by two lamps with two fly-whisks ('chamaras') on either-side of an umbrella ('chatra') and a crescent moon. Around it is inscribed a Sanskrit verse, in " Granta script " which has been identified as of 12 A.D. and deciphered by Dr. A. Paranavithana, former Commissioner of Archæology.

The text of the " Granta " script reads thus. " Hail. This is the ground adorned by the Crown of Indra and the others of Mahesa residing in Sri Pathi Grama which is the abode of the illustrious Brahmanas. "

Dr. Raja de Silva will compare this find with similar finds by the Indian archæologists to establish the true identity of the seal and its implications.

The treasure trove was dug up when restoring the Siva Devale. Among the finds are well preserved urns, incense burners vessels, lamps, bells figures and statues of dieties. Another important find is the base and aureole probably of a statue of Siva.

Last year, technicians of the department discovered a statue of Karaikkalamma reputed to be a famous devotee of Siva.

Some other finds are a well preserved specimen of a Siva Lingam out of blue green stone and bowls ('paatras').

DRAVIDIANS CAME FROM MEDITERRANEAN

Indian Express—22-8-1970

Dravidians inhabited large parts of the world including some area of ancient Iran and Mesopotamia in the 5th or the 6th millennium B.C. They must have come to India from the Mediterranean region.

This view was expressed by Dr. Shaposhnikova, a leading Soviet anthropoligist, Indologist and Head of the Department of History in the Moscow University. She was addressing a meeting of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society on Thursday evening on "the origin of Dravidians."

She was also emphatic that the Mohenjadaro civilization was Dravidian.

Explaining her interest in the Todas of Nilgiris in this connection, she was of the view that they represented the oldest Dravidian culture. She pointed out that these proto-Dravidians are entirely different from the "modern" Dravidians in their physical features, way of life and even in the construction of their huts.

In the light of these differences, some scholars were led to think that they might have come from ancient Rome, while there were others who thought that they were the descendants of the Greek soldiers who came to India with Alexander. But Dr. Shaposhnikova did not accept either of these hypotheses and was of the view that they were Dravidians and they were able to preserve their ancient culture because they were completely cut off from the rest of the world for centuries.

Excavations from their ancient burial grounds, Dr. Shaposhnikova said, revealed that there had been little change in their customs.

Referring to some of the external links that existed between the Todas and the outside world, she pointed out that the names of some of the gods in the Toda ritualistic language of "Kwozzham" and those of the Sumarians were similar. The huts of some of the tribes in Iraq bore a surprisingly close resemblance to those of the Todas. This evidence led to the inference that the Dravidians might have come to India from the Mediterranean region in the remote past.

Book Notes

JOHN R. MARR, *Letterature dravidiche*, pp. 559-626 in *Storia delle letterature d'Oriente*, ed. F. Vallardi, Milano, 1969.

An excellent brief treatment of the most relevant and important features, works and authors of Dravidian literatures. Contains a 2-page introduction, five chapters on the four great literatures and on the oral literatures, notes and bibliography. Tamil literature is dealt with on pp. 561-588, and the article contains information on the language, its script, its palæography, beginnings of its literature, its classical prosody; a concise description of the most typical works and authors until our days follows. Italian readers will no doubt greatly profit from this fine piece of work.

JAROSLAV VACEK, *Some Problems of Tamil Phonological Structure, Acta Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis-Philologica 2*, 1969, 87-103.

A very important contribution to Tamil phonology from the pen of a young Czech indologist. The approach, the theory and method, is a pure and precise application of the 'Praguist' structuralist views, as manifested e.g. in the writings of Prof. B. Trnka. Vacek's conclusion, based on the main distributional and combinational characteristics of the Tamil Phonological System, is that its distributional characteristics are remarkably clear-cut and that the Tamil system is extremely well-balanced—contrary to e.g. the Indo-Aryan languages, notably Sanskrit.

KAMIL ZVELEBIL, *Comparative Dravidian Phonology*, Mouton, The Hague-Paris, 1970, pp. 202.

After the attempt of Subbayya at the beginning of our century, the present book may be considered the first full and systematic compendium of a comparative phonology of Dravidian languages. Tamil serves as a point of departure in the author's treatment. The book's contents: Introduction. Selected Bibliography. Vowels, Consonants. Consonant Clusters. Appendix: Three Morphophonemic Rules of Dravidian Bases. Addenda: New languages discovered. Additional vowel qualities in Koḍagu and Iruḷa. "Harappan Dravidian" and reconstructed Dravidian. Index: The book is of interest for Dravidianists primarily, for Indian linguists, and also for general linguists. For Tamilologists

it may be of particular interest since the author starts his description from the perspective of Tamil. The book posits rather than answers questions, formulates problems, and catalogues results reached so far. As all pioneer attempts, it suffers, in parts, from lack of rigour and elegance of treatment, from a certain " unreadiness ". Some of its conclusions are almost certainly bound to be altered, probably even denied by future research, for which, nevertheless, it will form a necessary point of departure.

An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language by S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I. and H. S. David, M.A., Ph.D

This new Tamil-English-Tamil Lexicon is compiled on a philological and semantic basis. In it, all Tamil words are traced to their earliest forms extant in our literature, and thence to their roots or most elementary linguistic forms. Thus, we are presenting a complete analysis of the Tamil Language in order to facilitate its study for all. A comparison is also instituted with the eighteen other Dravidian languages, especially with the more important and cultivated South Indian Dravidian tongues, notably with Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu.

Another new feature is that parallels from the more important Indo-European languages, from the so-called "Finno-Ugrian", " Uralian " or " Scythian " tongues of a vast area extending from Finland in Northern Europe to Mongolia in N.E. Asia, at times from the Assyrian and other Semitic tongues of Western Asia, and especially from the newly discovered Hittite, Mitanni and Sumerian languages, are shown for the first time, with the aid of the clues obtained from Dravidian etymology, thus shedding a flood of light on the true origin of a large percentage of their words. As this is purely an Etymological Dictionary, planned out in the manner of Dr Ernst Wasserzieher's " *Alleitendes Worterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* " (A Derivative Dictionary of the German Tongue), it will confine itself to primary roots and secondary formations of Tamil and eliminate all compound words, which should be looked up in the Madras University Tamil Lexicon, just as in the parallel German instance, all compound words are referred to Karl Bruel's Comprehensive German-English Dictionary, (Cassel).

This is Part VII (the seventh Part) of this lexicon: the six earlier parts were edited by Gnana Prakasar between 1938 and 1946. Part VII will be first part of the Second Volume.

This is called a "*Comparative Lexicon*",* as the words in Tamil are compared with those of more than a hundred languages in the groups afore-mentioned. The easy manner of the presentation of the material contained herein will help the beginners to understand and retain in their memory the Tamil words from their basic roots and in their interconnections.

For the convenience of those who are unable to obtain those six parts edited by Swami Gnana Prakasar, their most important features are briefly recapitulated in this Part. The languages, alluded to above, are 18 Dravidian languages, 45 Indo-European, 42 Uralian and 9 Western Asian, both Semitic and non-Semitic.

Subscription Rates:

Vol. 11 : Part 1 alone : 155 pages; Rs. 10.

Vol. 11 : Parts 1-4 together : Rs. 30.

Already Rs. 3,000 (three thousand) have to come to me from subscribers to this work : 28–9–1970.

A TAMIL PROSE READER : Selections from Contemporary Tamil Prose with Notes and Glossary by R. E. ASHER, *Reader in Linguistics, University of Edinburgh*, and R. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Associate Professor of Linguistics, University of Calgary, Alberta.*

This book, a reader for non-Tamil-speaking students of the language, consists of thirty-two representative extracts from post-1947 prose writings, with full grammatical and cultural notes, and a vocabulary. The selection illustrates the variety of styles used in modern Tamil writing. The passages are arranged in order of difficulty, and each has a brief introduction in English. An elementary knowledge of Tamil and the ability to read the Tamil script are assumed. The texts have not been simplified, and all idiomatic expressions are fully explained. After working through this book the student should be able to read any modern Tamil prose text, with the aid of a dictionary.

Forthcoming : about £ 2·50.

Cambridge University Press, London.

*(The above is a note received from the printers of the comparative Lexicon. Subscriptions for the work may be sent to Asirvatham Press and Book Depot., 32, Kandy Road, Jaffna, Ceylon).

KAMIL ZVELEBIL—JAROSLAAV VACEK, *Introduction to the Historical Grammar of the Tamil Language*, Academia, Prague, 1970, pp. 222.

In 1959, a team of scholars was formed in Moscow with a view to bring out a historical grammar of Tamil. The first fruits of the team's labours were published in 1967 under the title *Introduction to the Historical Grammar of the Tamil Language* (by M. Andronov, Yu. Glazov, K. Zvelebil), containing grammatical analyses of Early Old Tamil, of the language of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. and of a short modern play. Unfortunately, after 1968, the team ceased to exist for reasons which are beyond the reach of scholars.

Kamil Zvelebil, the former head of the team, and Jaroslav Vacek, a young Prague Tamilologist, published in 1970 the present volume in Prague; it contains the grammatical analysis of the earliest Tamil inscriptions (Zvelebil) and of an early modern Tamil ballad (Vacek).

Zvelebil's part is based on the morphemic, phonological and lexical analysis of a number of epigraphic materials. Together with two brilliant papers by I. Mahadevan, and with Zvelebils' earlier monograph (1964), the present volume gives a solid basis for a total picture of earliest inscriptional Tamil. J. Vacek has very carefully analysed a representative sample of the *kummi* of *Civakaṅkai caritirak kummiyum ammāṉaiyum* (ed. 1954, MGOMS). He also deals primarily with the phonology, derivational and inflectional morphology, and lexicon of the text, using largely tagmemic symbols and model. Both descriptions contain complete list of stems.

It should probably be added that the results of the labours of Yuri Glazov, who, with great erudition and inexhaustible energy, has analysed a number of Old Tamil texts for the above-mentioned moribund project, remain buried unpublished and in manuscript form to the great regret of international scholarship.

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